This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

SEVEN DAYS' BOOK.

P2813

Pd. Jan. 1880.

No. 45.
The Gift of
Justin Winsor,
Librarian of Harv. Univ.
29 Dec! 1879.

No. 46.
From the
President's Office
30 Dec. 1879.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXIII. NOS. FOR JUNE AND SEPTEMBER, 1871.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,
658 BROADWAY.

1871.

P281.3

1871, Dec. 30.
From the
President's Office.
No. 46.

Entered, according to act of Congress, in the year 1871, by
EDWARD I. SEARS,
In the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

Justin Winsor,
Librarian, H. U.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXIII. No. XLV. JUNE, 1871.

NEW YORK:

EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

658 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS:

NEW YORK: AMERICAN NEWS CO., 121 NASSAU STREET. PHILADELPHIA: JAMES K. SIMON, SOUTH SIXTH STREET. LONDON: TRUBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW. PARIS: VICTOR ALEXI, 19 RUE DU MAIL.

1871.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1871, by EDWARD I. SEARS, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

7-30 GOLD LOAN

OF THE

Northern Pacific Railroad.

RAPID PROGRESS OF THE WORK.

The building of the Northern Pacific Railroad (begun July last), is being pushed forward with great energy from both extremities of the line. Several thousand men are employed in Minnesota and on the Pacific coast. The grade is nearly completed ***266*** miles westward from Lake Superior; trains are running over ***130*** miles of finished road, and track-laying is rapidly progressing toward the eastern border of Dakota. Including its purchase of the St. Paul and Pacific Road, the Northern Pacific Company now has ***413*** miles of completed road, and by September next this will be increased to at least ***560.***

A GOOD INVESTMENT. Jay Cooke & Co. are now selling, and unhesitatingly recommend, as a Profitable and perfectly Safe investment, the First Mortgage Land Grant Gold Bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. They have ***30*** years to run, bear Seven and Three-Tenths per cent. gold interest (more than ***8*** per cent. currency) and are secured by first and only mortgage on the ENTIRE ROAD AND ITS EQUIPMENTS, and also, as fast as the Road is completed, on

23,000 ACRES OF LAND to every mile of track, or ***500*** Acres for each $1,000 Bond. They are exempt from U. S. Tax; Principal and Interest are payable in Gold; Denominations: Coupons, $100 to $1,000; Registered $100 to $10,000.

LANDS FOR BONDS. Northern Pacific 7-30's are at all times receivable at TEN PER CENT. ABOVE PAR, in exchange for the Company's Lands, at their lowest cash price. This renders them practically INTEREST BEARING LAND WARRANTS.

SINKING FUND. The proceeds of all sales of Lands are required to be devoted to the re-purchase and cancellation of the First Mortgage Bonds of the Company. The Land Grant of the Road exceeds Fifty Million Acres. This immense Sinking Fund will undoubtedly cancel the principal of the Company's bonded debt before it falls due. With their ample security and high rate of interest, there is no investment, accessible to the people, which is more PROFITABLE OR SAFE.

EXCHANGING U. S. FIVE-TWENTIES. The success of the New Government 5 per cent. Loan will compel the early surrender of United States 6 per cents. Many holders of Five-Twenties are now exchanging them for Northern Pacific Seven-Thirties, thus realizing a handsome profit, and greatly increasing their yearly income.

OTHER SECURITIES.—All marketable Stocks and Bonds will be received at their highest current price in exchange for Northern Pacific Seven Thirties. EXPRESS CHARGES on Money or Bonds received, and on Seven Thirties sent in return, will be paid by the Financial Agents. Full information maps, pamphlets, etc., can be obtained on application at any agency, or from the undersigned.

FOR SALE BY

JAY COOKE & CO.

PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON,

Financial Agents Northern Pacific Railroad Co.

By BANKS *and* BANKERS *generally throughout the country.*

CONTENTS OF No. XLV.

ART. PAGE

I. EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES AND RACES, ... 1

1. *The Native Races of the Russian Empire.* By R. G. LATHAM.

2. *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie.* By KARL FREIHERR VON CZÖRNING.

3. *The Nationalties of Europe.* By R. G. LATHAM.

4. *Die grosse ethnographische Karte der österreichischen Monarchie.*

5. *Fragmente aus dem Orient.* By FALLMERAYER.

6. *Das albanesische Element in Griechenland.* By FALLMERAYER.

7. *Das Königreich Böhmen; statistisch und topographisch dargestellt.* By SOMMER.

II. THE RELIGION AND ETHICS OF SPINOZA, ... 22

1. *Vie de Spinoza.* PAR. M. COLERUS. *Augmentée de beaucoup de Particularités.*

2. *B. de Spinoza. Opera quæ supersunt omnia; iterum edenda curavit. Præfationes, Vitam auctoris, necnon Notitias, quæ ad historiam scriptorum pertinent addidit,* H. E. G. PAULUS.

3. *Benedicite de Spinoza de Deo et Homine ejusque Felicitate Lineamenta atque, annotationes ad Tractandum Theologico-Politicum.*

ART. PAGE

4. *Réfutation Inédite de Spinoza.* Par. LEIBNITZ. *Précédé d'une Memoire,* par FOUCHER DE CAREIL.

III. ANONYMOUS AND PSEUDONYMOUS AUTHORS AND WORKS, . 41

1. *Répertoire Bibliographique Universel.* Par GABREIL PEIGNOT.

2. *Auteurs deguises sous des noms étrangers, empruntés, supposés, feints à plaisir, abrégés, chiffrés, renversés retournés ou changés d'une langue en autre.* Par ADRIEN BAILLET.

3. *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes, composés, traduits, ou publiés en français, avec les noms des auteurs, traducteurs, et editeurs accompagné de notes historiques et critiques.* Par ANTOINE ALEXANDRE BARBIER, bibliothécaire du conseil d'Etat.

4. *Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum detectorum.* JOHANNIS CHRISTOPHERI MYLII, cum præfatione GOTTLEIB STALII.

5. *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum,* VINCENTII PLACII, edente FABRICIO: MATTHIAS DREYER. 2 vols.

IV. THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN ASIA, ... 66

1. *The Russians in Central Asia,* by JOHN AND ROBERT MICHELL.

2. *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilization en Russie.* Par NICOLAS de GEREBTZOFF. 2 vols.

3. *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor,* by THOS. WM. ATKINSON.

4. *Geschichte der russichen Staates,* von Dr. ERNST HERMANN, ausserordentl. Professor an der Universität zu Jena. (*History of the state of Russia,* by Dr. ERNST HERMANN, extraordinary Professor in the University of Jena.) 4 vols.

5. *Siberian Overland Route from Peking to St. Petersburg,* by ALEXANDER MICHIE.

6. *Russland unter Alexander II. Nicholajewitsch. Zur innern Geschichte und äussern Politik von Thronwechsel bis auf die Gezenwart.* (*Russia under Alexander II.*

ART. PAGE

The secret History and declared Policy, from the change of Dynasty to the present time.) 4 vols.

7. *Russians on the Amur*, by E. G. RAVENSTEIN.

V. THE FINANCIAL BASIS OF SOCIETY, ... 215

1. *The Philosophy and History of Civilization.* By ALEXANDRE ALISON.

2. *Political Philosophy.* By HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM.

3. *A Fragment on Government.* By JEREMY BENTHAM.

4. *De la Democratie en Amerique.* Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, member de l'Institut, etc.

VI. WHAT THE ENGLISH INTELLECT HAS DONE DURING VICTORIA'S REIGN, ... 106

1. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. TAINE. 4 vols.

2. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. TAINE. Tome cinquième et complementaire. Les contemporains.

VII. AGE AND VICISSITUDES OF THE EARTH AND ITS INHABITANTS, ... 130

1. *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley; comprising the results of extensive original Surveys and Explorations.* By E. G. SQUIER, A. M., and E. H. DAVIS, M. D. 4to.

2. *Archæology of the United States; or Sketches, historical, and bibliographical, of the progress of Information and Opinions respecting Vestiges of Antiquity in the United States.* By S. F. HAVEN. 4to.

3. *A Guide to Northern Antiquities* By M. THOMSEN.

4. *Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries* at Zurich.

5. *Palafittes, or Lacustrian Constructions of the Lake of Neuchatel.* By E. DESOR; *with Designs by* Professor A. FAVRE GUILLARMOD. Smithsonian Report.

VIII. MAYOR HALL'S MESSAGE AND OUR MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION, ... 151

Message of the Mayor to the Common Council of the City of New York, with Accompanying Documents. June, 1871.

ART. PAGE

IX. NOTICES AND CRITICISMS, ... 172

Education.
History and Biography.
Belles-Lettres.
Science.

X. APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. XLV

JUNE, 1871.

ART. I.—1. *The Native Races of the Russian Empire.* By R. G. LATHAM.

2. *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie.* By KARL FREIHERR von CZÖRNIG. Vienna. 1852–57.

3. *The Nationalities of Europe.* By R. G. LATHAM. London. 1863.

4. *Die grosse ethnographische Karte der österreichischen Monarchie*

5. *Fragmente aus dem Orient.* By FALLMERAYER. Stuttgart. 1845.

6. *Das albanesische Element in Griechenland.* By FALLMERAYER. München. 1857–60.

7. *Das Königreich Böhmen; statistisch und topographisch dargestellt.* By Sommer. Prag. 1838–47.

THAT question of Nationality which—for good and for evil—plays now so large a part in politics, has latterly cropped up in the most puzzling form in Bohemia. It is pregnant there with a fresh danger to the peace of Europe; for though the Bohemian arena is a small one, the victory of a pan-Sclavonian tumult on that ground would greatly help to promote Russian supremacy all over the East, and transfix south-eastern Germany, as it were, with a Muscovite dart.

A glance at the map will show that, geographically speaking, Bohemia is situated in the very heart of Germany. Stettin, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, to the north; Linz, to the south, are on a line with Prague. Breslau and Vienna stand on a belt of territory which surrounds Bohemia on the east. With her western boundary, which touches Bavaria, Bohemia reaches so far forward into the centre of Germany that the distance from thence to the upper Rhine—which up to the late war formed the frontier towards France—is less than half the entire breadth of what until recently was the German Confederation.

Politically, Bohemia has from olden times been an integral part of Germany. Under the imperial constitution, her rulers were members of that college of electors which had to choose the *König*, the head of the Empire. The *Schwabenspiegel*, the law code of the nineteenth century, contains in the thirty-first article the respective provision; adding that the right of taking part in the election shall only be exercised by a ruler in Bohemia "if he be a German-born man"*. A province of the German Empire, Bohemia was as much as Bavaria, or Saxony, or any other of its component parts. After the downfall of the Empire during the Napoleonic wars, and the subsequent formation of a German *Bund*, or confederacy, Bohemia became an integral part of the latter, so that there is an unbroken connection for a long series of centuries. Nor have the intellectual links been wanting. The first German university was founded, more than 500 years ago, at Prague. And though Hapsburg absolutism has cruelly wronged the Bohemian people, it remains nevertheless true that German culture has revivified the seared roots of intellectual life in that ill-treated country. At present, whatever there is of science, of industry, of general civilization in Bohemia, can in the main, with few exceptions, be traced to German influence. Were it not that latterly the feelings of race had become embittered in consequence of the pan-Slavistic movement, this fact, which formerly was scarcely ever submitted to a doubt,

*ART. 31.—*Welche den Künig söllen erwelen . . . Der vierd ist der Künig von Behem, des reichs schenk, vnd soll dem Künig den ersten becher byetin. Doch ist ze wissen, das der Künig von Behem Kein Kur hat, wann er nit ein tentsoher man ist.* . . .

would be more readily acknowledged even by the Czechs. Palacky himself, one of their chief leaders, has occasionally made some avowal in that direction. This strong "national" partisanship is at least tinged here and there with a speck of equity, the result of laborious historical research. But in the Czech movement at large, there is no room for such equitable admission; an insensate hatred of race stifles the voice of justice and humanity.

Ethnologically speaking, as the quotation from *Schwabenspiegel* already indicates, the population of Bohemia is of a mixed character—partly Sclavonian, partly German. At the dawn of history, a Keltic people were settled there. They were ousted by a German tribe, the Marcomans; after these came an influx of Sclavonians, called Czechs. In speech, Bohemia is now partly Czech, partly German; many of its inhabitants using, of course, both languages. At Prague the two nationalities nearly balance each other. In the majority of the towns and of the larger villages, the German population prevails; whilst the Czechs are clustering in the smaller towns and hamlets. The well-to-do, industrial classes are mainly German. In point of numbers, the Czechs have the upperhand, being about three millions out of the five million inhabitants. A similar proportion is found in neighboring Moravia. A circumstance worthy of consideration, and which affects the "Bohemian question" in a vital manner, is this: That the German population of Bohemia and Moravia is strongest round the circumference of these provinces, thus forming a barrier, which shuts off the Czechs from immediate contact with the Sclavonians of neighbouring Hungary, and rendering them in reality an *enclave* in the German body. It is as if the English counties on the eastern side of Wales were placed on its western border, so that the Kymracy-speaking people were situated more towards the centre of England. Only it ought to be added that comparing Bohemia and the principality, the proportion of Czechs and only Czech-speaking people is far less than that of the people who only speak Welsh. A great number of Bohemians are bilingual, or of mixed descent, so that it is often difficult to make out the real nationality of an in

dividual. The same person sometimes comes out, at different stages of his life, alternately as a Czech and a German. The names, too, are intermixed. Men with harsh Sclavonian names are found strong partisans of the German cause. Similar changeling substitutions are met with on the other side.

Yet, for all that, the aim of the pan-Slavish agitators at Prague is, the restoration of a Bohemian kingdom, including, for a beginning, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, and occupying, in the midst of Germany, an independent position. For this object, they incessantly utter piercing cries of anguish, pointing with significant gestures to that great northern power, which is declared to be the incarnation of Slavonism, but which hath stomach for all kinds of nationalities. To add to the confusion, some of the more scheming of the Czech leaders, who look with one eye toward Prussia and with the other toward western Europe, endeavor to resuscitate Hussite memories. They do so, however, less in a religious than in a national sense; the bulk of the Czechs being now—thanks to a former inhuman persecution—not only in outward confession, but really in spirit, strongly Roman catholic; whereas the German portion of the inhabitants is less subject to religious prejudice.

The foregoing will suffice to show what difficulties there are in the way of the pan-Slavists. Into the vexed question of the historical rights of the Bohemian kingdom we will not enter. It is on a par, we apprehend, with the question of the restoration of the heptarchy in England. Even should Austria be compelled to yield to demands which could not but rouse the feelings of her German population to a dangerous degree, it may be taken for granted that a really united Germany, established on the principle of popular freedom, would not allow of the erection—in fact, would not be possible with the existence—of a citadel of pan-Slavism on ground so long held by the German nation. For a citadel by nature Bohemia is. Her occupation by a foreign power would place a German commonwealth on a continual *qui vive*, and necessitate the continuance of a militarism fatal to liberty.

But is not nationality, some will ask, of paramount

importance, and to be considered first? In order correctly to judge of this question, we shall have to look at the distribution of races over the present political structures in Europe. In the first instance, it ought here to be kept in mind that the east, and parts of the centre of Europe are in a somewhat abnormal condition, and that any attempt at straightening matters there in the strict nationality sense, is from the nature of things, doomed to be as fruitless as the endeavor of white-washing the black man. In the east, even where some chief race forms a considerable point of crystallisation, the immediate surroundings generally present a most variegated aspect. The great migrations and invasions of old have turned that whole corner topsy-turvey. In some parts, every thing is so disjointed that if a separation by nationalities were to be fully carried out, not only every province, but often single towns would have to be split up—the different races not seldom occupying different towns' quarters since ancient times. This very confusion creates a necessity of combining in the fold of one State a number of nationalities, though, of course, in special cases their grouping together may be a wrong and indefensible one. If we cast a glance at the different nations of Europe, we come upon the even more startling fact that with the exception of Portugal, of Italy since the cession of the French-speaking province of Savoy, and of Denmark since the addition of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, there is not a single country without various national ingredients, if difference of speech is to be the test.

England still shows the Kymraeg, the Gaelic, the Erse, and the French languages at the side of the English; and in Scotland, not a few will probably contend that their Germanic speech is not simply a dialect of the English tongue, but a language of its own growth. In Spain, there is at the side of the Castilian speech, still the strange Basque language in full vigour; and the nationality of that name preserves, as it were, a commonwealth of its own. On the other side of the Pyrenees, again a fragment of Basque nationality turns up. It is embodied in that French nation which, with all the strong bonds of centralization, that have

hitherto held it together, has a great variety of national elements. There is, first, the Bretagne—a Welsh-speaking country. There are the Flemish dialects of France, with their Low-German speech. There are Alsace and districts of Lorraine, now ceded to Germany, which to this day, though alienated in feeling, are in the main German in idiom; and there are large tracts in the south, so closely bordering in popular speech upon the neighboring Italian dialects, that if the *langue d'oil* had not somewhat fortutously prevailed over the *langue d'oc*, it would be difficult to say to which section of the Romanic-speaking populations the Southern French ought to be reckoned. Nor are the proofs entirely wanting of a kind of centrifugal spirit in some parts of southern France—a spirit which, if not entirely owing to, is at least greatly favored by, this particular *nuance* of nationality. Witness some recent deplorable events at Marseilles.

If we turn to Switzerland, we find a people of whom two-thirds use the language of the German nation, from whom they separated some centuries ago, whilst the remaining third is made up of French, Italian, and "Romansch"-speaking Swiss. In Belgium, which is so often erroneously regarded as mainly French, there is a similar state of things. Two thirds of the Belgian population are of the German (*Nederduitsch*) branch, and speaking what generally, though somewhat inaptly is called the Flemish language, whilst one third is Walloon and uses the French tongue. In Holland even, the real Dutch are partly matched off by Frisians, Flemings, and other Low-Germans with idiomatic characteristics of their own. though as a whole, the population of Holland is of Germanic origin and speech. In Sweden and Norway, the Germanic-speaking population is in the north fringed by Fins and Laps, of the Tshudish family of the Mongol race.

Germany, in her immense majority a homogeneous nation, has on her eastern border a Sclavonic sprinkling; in the south, an insignificant number of Italian-speaking people. Of Russia, we shall not treat here in detail. She is a great prison-house of discordant races, whom to detach from the autocrat's dominion would in every case and sense be beneficial to the

world's security and progress. If we cross over into Hungary, we also meet with a strange medley of nationalities and tribes, thrown together, in the happy-family fashion, between the Carpathian range and the Danube. But the strong state-forming power of the Magyars has given to the whole Hungarian population a tone and a character of its own. With all that variety of races and tongues which rendered it advisable, down to quite recent times, to use Latin as the official and parliamentary language, the Magyar commonwealth always had distinctive features, and was imbued with a spirit difficult to tame down to the requirements of a levelling monarchical bureaucracy. Hence Hungary has been able to outlive terrible disasters brought upon her from without as well as from dangers within.

In Turkey, the confusion of races is even greater than in Hungary; greatest on the southern slope of the Balkan. The chief populations are the Osmanlee; the Tartar-Bulgarian; the Rouman; the Servian; the Albanese; and the Greek—all divided from each other, in descent and speech, in a degree which it would be difficult to surpass. By a legerdemain trick, or by naive ignorance, it is often assumed that all these races, the Turk excepted, are of the same stock, because they worship mostly in the same fashion. It is as if a national homogeneity were assumed for Spaniards, Belgians, Poles and Italians, because they happen to be in their majority adherents of the Catholic Church.

Unfortunately, there are men to be found, occupying prominent places in political literature, an even in statesmanship, who have scarcely a single correct idea as regards the distribution of races in the East and their various aspirations in matters of government and of religion. How often have we not heard some declamation about the "ten million Greeks" who are to drive the Osmanlee over the Bosporus? How often have we not heard of an alleged brotherly union among the "Christian Rayah!" Yet, when we come to study facts, the situation presents itself in a very different light. The "ten million Greeks" are, of course, as much a fable as any classic myth. About ten million people in European Turkey

are adherents of the Greco-Catholic Church, of which the Patriarch at Constantinople declares himself to be the head, whilst the Czar would rather like to supplant him in spiritual supremacy—as a preliminary step to political dominion. But of Greeks, of Hellenes, in race, there are at most *one* million within the borders of European Turkey; and half of these live scattered through the different provinces.

Not in Epirus itself does the Hellenic nationality prevail. Almost every valley of that province is inhabited by a different stock. In Thessaly alone, the Greeks have a preponderance. These facts must be kept in mind, in order to take the proposition of the establishment of a "Byzantine Empire" under Greek leadership at its proper value. We may regret what we see; but it would be sheer infatuation to disregard the actual condition of affairs. That Turkey cannot be maintained for ever in its present form, is too plain a truth to need any amplification. But of all the proposals for the regeneration of the East, that of the establishment of a Greek empire in the place of the Sultanate is assuredly the most impossible. The materials for rebuilding such a structure are almost totally wanting.

We can but deplore that this should be so. The influence of ancient Hellas permeates our modern civilization too strongly for us not to feel a deep pang at the misfortunes that have befallen that once renowned country. "The human form and the human mind"—Shelley says in the Preface to his *Hellas*—"attained to a perfection in Greece which has impressed its image on those faultless productions, whose very fragments are the despair of modern art, and has propagated impulses which cannot cease, through a thousand channels of manifest or imperceptible operation, to ennoble and delight mankind until the extinction of the race." He then adds:—

"The modern Greek is the descendant of those glorious beings whom the imagination almost refuses to figure to itself as belonging to our kind; and he inherits much of their sensibility, their rapidity of conception, their enthusiasm, and their courage. If in many instances he is degraded by moral and political slavery to the practice of the basest vices it engenders, and that below the level of ordinary degradation, let us reflect that the corruption of the best produces the worst, and that habits which subsist only in relation to a peculiar state of social institution may be expected to cease, as soon as that relation is dissolved."

This was written in 1821, before the Greeks had acquired independence. We will not quote here the harsh judgment recorded by Byron, another enthusiastic phil-Hellene, who wrote his letters from Greece some ten years before Shelley penned the above. Many things have since been bettered in that country. On the subject of Greek ethnology, Shelley, however, carried away by a noble enthusiasm, was no safe guide. Byron, who had observed matters on the spot, has glimpses of the truth, as we see from some passages. But it was reserved to later researches, made by eminent *savans*, chiefly German, to finally destroy a pleasing illusion which until then had been much fostered. The truth is, that of the Greek stock only faint vestiges were left, in consequence of the influx of foreign, "barbarian" elements during the troublous epoch of the early centuries of our chronology. Greece, at that time, was turned inside out. On the islands, which were reached with greater difficulty, the Hellenic race upon the whole maintained itself. On the main land it was overlaid by barbarous populations, and only managed to preserve its existence there sporadically.

At the time of the war of independence, some fifty years ago, an Albanese and a mixed Sclavo-Greek population occupied the greater portion not only of northern Greece, but also of the Peloponnesus. The Hellenes were almost nowhere. In entire provinces, the bulk of the peasantry scarcely spoke any Greek, whilst the towns' popoulation was as mixed as in Roumelia. Even at the last census, out of the 1,325,000 inhabitants of the kingdom, there were nearly 300,000 Arnauts or Albanese, whose language bears no affinity whatever to the Greek. At the very gates of Athens, Albanese is still spoken by the country people; without a knowledge of that idiom it is difficult to get on in the neighborhood among the lower people. Byron found the Athenians, as regards speech, much altered from what he had expected to find them. He said, they are "far from choice, either in their dialect, or expressions, as the whole Attic race are barbarous to a proverb." The explanation is no longer wanting. The Hellenic race has in the main been superseded, crushed out of existence, by a variety of successors.

Thanks to the labors of men in whom the fire of enthusiasm for the classic age glowed, the process of rebuilding the Hellenic nationality, and purifying as well as propagating its language among the discordant part of the population of the kingdom, has been considerably furthered during the last thirty years. The exertions of those who followed in the wake of Thiersch have had their beneficial effect. Still, much remains to be done; and so long as Greece herself, a country of small dimensions, is not quite welded together by full community of speech, it scarcely seems desirable that she should embark in attempts at conquest.

Excepting Thessaly, there is no part of the mainland of European Turkey where the Hellenic, or, at least, Greek-speaking race prevails. In Epirus there are a few places where the tongue has been preserved with remarkable purity; but in general, that province is inhabited by Albanese, Sclaves Vlachs, and similar incongruous tribes. Even in Crete, the Greeks by no means preponderate in such a way as to render the separation of that island from the Ottoman Empire an easy task. There is a large population of Turks there, cultivators of the soil, who consider themselves as much natives now as the Magyars do in Hungary, or the Anglo-Scots in Ireland. Besides Greeks and Turks, there are Armenians and Abadiotes in Crete; the latter of Arab race. Together with the "Franks," these different nationalities form rather a motley crowd. We have doubt on these points, not from any wish to oppose the cause of Greek reconstruction and freedom, but simply with a view of showing what the obstacles are which must needs be taken into consideration whenever questions referring to the East are approached. Now, the East, if we may say so, projects nationally rather far into Central Europe.

Hungary is of the East, and therefore not amenable to the strict principle of nationality, if by nationality is meant the homogenousness of descent, or the gloss put upon underlying dissimilarities of race by a community of speech. In some respects, various parts of Hungary are worse off on this score than even certain Turkish provinces. There are Hungarian districts in which every claim of one race is contested by half a dozen others.

Even so, if Poland were to be reconstituted, which on grounds of European security and general civilization is most desirable, at least three nationalities—two of which are profoundly dissimilar—would have to contribute to such political reconstruction. They are, the Poles proper, or "Lechs;" the Ruthenians; and the Lithuanians—the latter of whom stand farthest apart in descent and speech from the Poles, whilst the Ruthenians hold an intermediate position between the Lechs and the Muscovites. Spreading over parts of Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia, Galicia, and even northern Hungary, the Ruthenians—according to their territorial position and the extent of their intercourse with their immediate neighbors — approach in language and tendencies either the Poles or the Russians, and may consequently, in an ethnological as well as in a political sense, be considered to occupy, in a great measure, a debateable ground. In Galicia, the Polish province under Hapsburg sway, the Ruthenian element is concentrated round the capital, Lemberg. The Polish race proper occupies the eastern and western districts of the province. This somewhat unfortunate location of races, together with the class feuds between the peasantry and the aristocracy, enabled Metternich, in 1846, to quell a patriotic Polish movement in Galicia by a cruel massacre, in which the notorious Szela played an infamous part.

Hungary, during the popular struggles of 1848–49, was often called a nationality. Yet that polyglot country has, within its precincts, races differing as much as the Turks do from the Russians, or the Italians from the Dutch. The Magyar may stand for his relation, the Turk; the various Sclavonians for the Russian; the Rouman-speaking Wallachian for the Italian; the German inhabitant of Hungary for the Dutch. A nationality in the current acceptation of the term, Hungary is, therefore, not. Nevertheless, that appellation, which in fact is a misnomer, has, with many public writers and speakers, clung to her. In reality, Hungary is one of the strangest compounds of nationalities. Austria, as a whole, has sometimes been called a Europe *in nuce*. All the chief races are represented in it: the German; the Sclavonic; the Romanic; the Ugrian—besides various odd fragments of tribes heterogeneously huddled

[illegible] nooks and corners, as stray remnants and sedi[illegible] migration drifts. But what is true of that entire ag[illegible] which until lately was called Austria, is even [illegible] essentially true of Hungary and its so-called "annexes." [illegible] we look back into history, we find Dacians, Bastarnes, [illegible] Illyrians, Pæonians, Sarmates, Jazyges, Vandals, Bul[illegible]ians, Alans, Avars, Huns, Sueves, Quades, Marcomans, [illegible]epides, Longobards, Goths, Sclavonians of different denomina[illegible]ions, Khazars, Wallachians, and last, but not least, Magyars—a people belonging to the same stock as the Fins and Turks—successively sweeping, into what to-day, after the Ugrian or Ugrian tribe of the Magyars, is called Hungary, or *Ungarn*.

At present, if we take speech as a test, Hungary is inhabited in the centre by the Magyar race, which is mainly settled on the plains. Various Sclavonian populations, which still lack a common medium of speech, chiefly inhabit the more mountainous parts, but stretch also, in greater or less compactness, all over the northern, western, and southern parts of the circumference. The Germans are spread along that great artery, the Danube, and through the towns in general. The Roumans, or Wallachians, are scattered over the eastern districts, where they touch, through Transylvania, the cognate population of the Danubian Principalities. In Transylvania, which the Hungarians insist on considering a part of their own country, because it covers their eastern flank by the smaller Carpathian range, the majority are a Rouman-speaking, somewhat uncultivated people, whilst the political strength, social power, industry, and intellect, are chiefly represented by the Szeklers, a people of Magyar descent, and the "Saxon nation," a German population settled there since the early centuries of our era.

In a numerical sense, every race may be said to be in a minority in Hungary. The Magyars, counting between five and six millions, are pretty well offset by the Sclavonians, taking these latter in their bulk. However, as the Sclaves of the kingdom are scattered about the confines, whilst the Magyars occupy a more concentrated position in the middle; and as the former are, moreover, split up into a number of tribes—namely, Slovaks, Croats, Rascians, Schokaczes, Wends, Ruthenians, and so forth,

with languages that are still in the state of simple dialects: the Magyar nation has naturally a position of greater influence, even in intellectual matters. The chief source of progress in this respect, as well as in industrial affairs, is however the neighboring German nation, whose pioneers of civilization have penetrated, into what, by the over-ambitious, has sometimes sometimes been called "our colonial department" in the east.

Altogether the German population of Hungary may be reckoned at about two millions. It lives, fortunately, as a rule, on terms of good fellowship with the Magyar element. There is even, among some of the German immigrants and settlers, a tendency to Magyarize themselves in their family names, so that, under not a few strange-sounding names, a Muller, Schulze, or Pfanneuschmied is hidden. As to the Roumans, they occupy the greater portion of Transylvania, and are loosely distributed over the districts between that principality and the river Theiss. Politically disfranchised under the old Magyar constitution, which treated them contemptuously as the *plebs Valachorum*, they have, in some notable cases been made use of as instruments for convulsing Hungary in the imperial interest. For this part they were eminently fitted by their low state of civilization, into which, it is true, they had been thrown by aristocratic misrule. Thus the misdeeds of a haughty nobility were visited upon the country by dire revenge.

With all its polyglot confusion, Hungary has yet shown through ages a wonderfully strong spirit, against which the power even of a Joseph II. failed, though he called ideas of progress to his aid, in his attempt to overcome aristocratic privilege in the interest of a more equalizing, but nevertheless overbearing and rather absolutistic, monarchical rule. The Magyar realm might be vanquished, kept down by the bayonet; but its political parties, with remarkable firmness, would not hear of any political fusion with the other dominions of the house of Hapsburg. They would not hear of their country being simply treated as a province of the Austrian empire—and they were right. When Lord Palmerston, in 1849, was called upon to recognize Hungarian independence,

he replied that he knew only an Austrian Empire. It was the repetition of a similar phrase he had used some eighteen or nineteen years before, on the occasion of the Polish war of independence. Then he declared that he knew no Poland, but only Russian dominions. In the mouth of one whom it was the fashion with ultra-conservatives to style "Lord Firebrand," that expression was strange enough, but we believe it could be explained, after all, by his earlier relations with Muscovite diplomacy, though such an explanation would reflect little credit on the memory of that able and powerful, but unprincipled statesman.

At all events, he was guilty of a fallacy both in the case of Poland and of Hungary, when endeavoring to make these countries appear simply as provinces of the respective empires governed by the houses of Romanoff and Hapsburg. Even partitioned as she had been among three powers, Poland had yet preserved distinct institutions of her own. In that part of Poland which was joined to Russia, the constitution of 1815, engrafted upon that of 1791, established representative government, with two houses of parliament and a responsible ministry, as well as a separate army organization—the monarch having the title of "King of Poland," and the administration being carried on, during his absence, by a viceroy. The rising which began at Warsaw on November 29, 1830, and which soon assumed the proportions of a war, could therefore, under no circumstances be regarded as a simple revolt of a province against an empire. It was the movement of a distinct nation against an oppressive ruler. Only, from the fact of his standing at the head also of another nation of vast military resources, the latter was able to crush the feebler, freedom-loving power.

So it was with Hungary. Although under the same rulers as the other countries comprised in the Austrian empire, Hungary, down to 1849, had been a separate kingdom, as regarded its constitution and the tenure of royal power. The confines of the realm were clearly marked, and its territory was girdled by a *cordon* of custom-houses, which formed a commercial line of demarcation, in addition to the political one

towards the German confederation. Hungary, therefore, could not be called a province of the Austrian Empire. The very name of *Kaiserthum* or *Kaiser-Staat* as applied to the whole of the Hapsburg dominions, only dates from the beginning of the present century, when Francis, emperor of Germany, was compelled, through the misfortunes of war in the struggle against Napoleon, to lay down his imperial German dignity, and thereupon, as a slight solace, assumed the title of Austrian emperor, or Kaiser. Constitutionally speaking, Hungary could not be affected thereby. For her, the Austrian emperor remained simply a king, albeit in some undefined way he had provided himself with a further title, which the folly of men is wont to regard as an appellation even superior to that of king.

Having boundaries, representative institutions, and a government of her own, though connected by dynastic and other relations with Austria proper, Hungary, in 1848–49, first strove to improve her own condition in the sense of greater parliamentary freedom, and of political equality among the various races that dwell within the realm. Royalty was not to be done away with, but only restricted in its privileges. Before resorting to the extreme step of taking the management of their affairs into their own hands, nations generally require some act of intolerable oppression or treachery to be committed by their rulers. That treachery was assuredly not wanting in the case indicated. It was the double-dealing policy of the Hapsburgs that drove the Hungarians into a war, during which the reigning house was declared to have forfeited its claims, and the way thus paved for a republic, which however fell under the weight of a double military attack from abroad, combined with reactionary race movements, fostered by imperial statecraft within.

It is here that we come upon the question of Pan-Slavism, of which the Czech question is simply a part. In 1840, the Germans of Vienna, the Hungarians, and the Italians, struggled against Hapsburg despotism. On their part the Czechian leaders, after having for a moment seemed to take up a position against the House of Austria in the sense of Pan-

Slavism, finally sided with that dynasty, and wrote the "Unity of the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolical Monarchy" on their banner—provided that Austria should be Slavonized as much as possible, and that in the black-yellow frame of the *Kaiser-Staat*, Czechism should occupy a prominent place.

In vain the popular leaders of Germany offered their hand for friendly co-operation against arbitrary dynastic rule. Decrees were issued in this spirit of conciliation, purporting that the German and the Slcavonian inhabitants of Bohemia were to enjoy equal rights and equal liberties; that the use of the two languages in school, before the tribunals, in the administration, was to be a free one, according to local conditions and individual preferences. All laws of the Constituent National Assembly of Germany were to be promulgated in a twofold text. In fact, the *Grundrechte*, or Fundamental rights, which enabled the Czechs also to develop their nationality by providing them with the right of unlimited agitation, were published both in the German and in the Czechian languages.

But so fair an arrangement did not suit the Pan-Slavists at Prague. They preferred intriguing with the chiefs of Croatian hordes, such as Tellacic, with all kinds of Slavonian Vendeeans who combated the Hungarian Revolution, and with the Russian agents who worked in the background for the same end. They took their place in the *Reichstag* at Vienna on the right, with the conservatives, the feudalists, the ultramontanes, the political and clerical representatives of reaction. They conspired with the Court against the liberty-loving people of Vienna. When the court fled; when the storm of the revolution of October, 1848, broke loose, the trio of Czechian leaders, Messieurs Palacky, Riger, and Branner—(two German names in the Slavonian triumvirate!)—treacherously left the Assembly, and, in company with other Czechian secessionists, endeavored to form a counter-parliament at Brünn, in Moravia, in order to raise the black-yellow banner of reaction against the revolutionary standard of Vienna.

This was, truly, the spirit of the Vendée on the territory of Germany. Leagued with the Sclavonian tribes of Hungary, upon whom the emissaries of the Kaiser and the Czar exerted

their joint efforts, the Czechians, in October, 1848, prepared the way for the imperial army of reaction. Bohemia and Moravia allowed the imperialist troops an unimpeded passage: Vienna was surrounded; and after a prolonged siege and struggle, the flood of despotism poured into the unhappy town. Then a St. Bartholomew of absolutism was enacted. In the *Aula*, the centre of the democratic movement of Vienna, the red-mouthed Seredzan, the half-savage brigand-soldier, brandished his yatagan. On the Brigittenan, Robert Blum was murdered. Day by day, the best friends of freedom were laid in ensanguined graves.

And as though this were not sufficient, the Czechian leaders, after the Reichstag had been adjourned to a town with a Slavonian-speaking population, demanded and carried their motion under the presence of the court-martial regime, that the sittings of the Assembly which had taken place during the popular movement of October, and at which they had not been present, should be declared to have been illegal, so that the "rupture with the revolution" should be formally expressed, and the brand of felony be impressed upon the corpses of those whom victorious Reaction had laid low. After the movement in German-Austria had thus been overthrown, Hungary, battling for independence and liberty was more fiercely travailed from within by local counter-insurrections, in which the passions of hostile races, kindled by imperial guile, ran riot at the expense of that freedom which all might have enjoyed.

In former times, aristocratic misrule had pressed upon subject races in Hungary. The revolutionary assembly, in that country too, decreed equality before the law, and common political rights. But the old school of crafty statesmen looked askance at this endeavor of regeneration. They felt that the levers with which they had so often divided, and thereby ruled, the Hungarian populations, were in danger of passing from their hands. Russia strove as much as lay in her to prevent the consolidation of Hungary, lest she herself should be effectually shut off from contact with these stray fragments of Sclavonian races which serve her as an instrument where-

with to convulse neighboring states. The Pan-Slavist organization in Bohemia, which aims at the separation from Hungary, of the northwestern provinces of that realm, worked with might and main for a counter-revolutionary move in the Slovak, Croat, Servian, and Ruthene districts. It found a ready ally also among the Roumans, the majority of whom, albeit standing in no consanguinity with the Muscovites, were amenable to Russian influence through the similarity of creed.

In this manner the Hungarian revolution had been internally undermined before it fell under the weight of the combined armies of the Kaiser and the Czar. On the gallows at Arad, the hangmen now strung up eminent Magyar generals and statesmen by the dozen. Then arose—for the first time as a definite system—that imperialist doctrine which would not acknowledge any longer the distinctions between these several component parts of the Austrian empire—distinctions so broadly stamped upon them, either by the differences of national character, or by the influence of historical grouping. Henceforth, there was to be a centralized Austria, held together by iron bands of irresponsible rule, with no trace of popular liberties left standing. In return for the declaration resolved upon at Debreczin, which had pronounced the forfeiture of the crown of St. Stephen, by the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, the Kaiser now declared the Hungarians to have forfeited their autonomy and their constitution through the act of rebellion. It was done on the so-called *Verwirkungs-Theorie*, to use the special phraseology of imperial officials.

Yet the scheme of triumphant reaction would not work. In the face of the victorious court the Viennese preserved an attitude of sullenness, the more galling because it formed so strong a contrast to the good-natured and forgiving temper of that pleasure-loving but withal free-minded population. Year after year passed by, but the Viennese would still remember their martyrs. Theirs is the only town in Europe which can boast of having, at the very time when oppression was rampant, resolved upon the erection of a monument worthy of the champions of the popular cause that fell in the street fights in the early part of 1848.

Even as the people of Vienna would not be weaned from their liberal aspirations, so the towns' population of Lombardy and Venice would not, after the failure of 1849, abandon their eager desire for a junction with their Italian brethren. In Hungary, also, public spirit was not broken by the colossal misfortune of Vilagos. The great capacity for self-government which that Eastern race, whose origin is to be traced to a nomadic chivalry, had displayed in an equal degree with nations boasting of an Anglo-Saxon descent, was still powerful enough to make the Hungarians bear up against the discouragement of the time.

It would lead us too far to show in detail how the Austrian government, with Prince Schwarzenberg at its head, first endeavored to enforce centralization at the point of the sword; how afterwards Herr von Schmerling sought to combine centralization with a bureaucratic constitutionalism; and how, lastly, the Hungarians obtained a restoration of their separate rights to an extent which placed the Kaiser in the position of a vanquished man.

But what, we may ask, was the attitude of the Czechs during all that time? So long as the Absolutistic regime lasted, they kept quiet! They may have desired a larger reward for the reactionary services done by them during the troublous epoch; but they did not put forth any distinct grievances. They were glad to see the Hungarians bowed down and the Germans punished. When the Schmerling constitution came, they were for a little while disconcerted. They acted the part of trimmers, turning now hither, now thither. But in proportion as the liberal, though centralistic section of the German population, seemed to gain the upper hand, the Czechs fell back upon the federalistic principle, endeavoring to contravene the new constitutional machinery.

This, no doubt, was done also by the Hungarians; but the conduct of the two is not to be compared. Priding themselves on a constitution nearly a thousand years old, the Hungarians would not receive from the hands and by the sovereign pleasure of a monarch that which they considered their imprescriptible right. A constitution thus arbitrarily

bestowed, they said, might be arbitrarily taken way. Their idea of a constitution was that of a compact, or covenant, somewhat like the ancient Arragonese constitution; the king being only a lawful king after having sworn to observe the fundamental law, and only remaining a king so long as he observed his part of the compact. The Schmerling notion of a constitution was that of a convenient machinery for raising money and passing enactments, with no "right of resistance" to illegal royal and imperial procedures attached to it.

The Czech leaders, however, would gladly have seen the continued violation of the Hungarian constitution had the Austrian government but humored their own inclinations by a federalistic policy. Federalism, in the Czech sense, is a word of large significance. It means the splitting up of that portion of Austria which had hitherto formed an integral part of Germany, for the benefit of Slavonism in every available hole and corner. It means, furthermore, a similar disintegration of the Maygar State, so as to render all the stray waifs of the Sclavonian family, no matter how widely they may be apart in national characteristics and in speech, better amenable to the Moscow propaganda, which acknowledges the Czar as its natural head. If the Czechs had their way, they would tear up at once the political structure which is called Hungary; dividing it into some five or six provinces, or rather states, without any common Legislature. In this wise they would give the centrifugal forces their full swing, hoping that Russia would prove the centre of attraction.

These Russian leanings of Czechism have lately cropped out so much that public attention has been greatly awakened. It has been a well-known fact for a long time that the chief Czechian leaders, decorated as they are with the Russian order of St. Andrew, keep up close relations with Muscovite propagandists of the government section. Still, a shock was felt when, during the recent insurrection in Russian Poland (1863–64)—whilst all Europe sympathized with a nobly-struggling people—the most noted Sclavonian agitators in Bohemia pronounced a verdict of condemnation against the Poles. It seemed as if the hand of the executioner, who had

already lifted the axe, were to be strengthened by an encouraging acclamation.

In harmony with this attitude of the Czech leaders was their famous pilgrimage, a short time after the overthrow of the Polish insurrection, to Moscow, where a great Slavonian Exhibition was held under autocratic auspices. There the world was informed that the Russian langugage ought henceforth to be the common medium for all Sclave populations—the hymn in honor of the Czar their common national song. An absurd proposal, on the face of it—for the Sclavonian tribes which are scattered over Hungary and Turkey, and partly also over the eastern border of Germany, differ as much from the Russians, and from each other, if not more, as the Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Dutch, and English, do between themselves.

Still, we may learn from the eccentric proposal in question, in which quarter we have to seek for the prime mover of all this Pan-Slavist turmoil. Czech nationality, in the sense of an independent Bohemian kingdom, is nothing but a battering ram of Russian aggression. The German nation knows this well, and, in spite of a state of things which for the moment keeps its Autrian provinces separated from the main stock, is determined on not allowing a Zwing-Uri of Panslavism to be set up in what, after all, must be termed the very precincts of the Fatherland.

ART. II.—2. Vie de Spinoza, par M. COLERUS. *Augmentée de beaucoup de Particularités.* Bruxelles.

2. *B. de Spinoza. Opera quæ supersunt Omnia; iterum edenda curavit, Præfationes, Vitam Auctoris, necnon Notitias, quæ ad historiam scriptorum pertinent Addidit.* H. E. G. PAULUS. Jenæ, 1801.

3. *Benedicite de Spinoza de Deo et Homine ejusque Felicitate Lineamenta. Atque Annotationes ad Tractandum Theologico-Politicum.* Halæ ad Salom.

4. *Réfutation. Inédite de Spinoza.* Par LEIBNITZ. Précédée d'une Memoire, par FOUCHER DE CAREIL. Paris.

THE object of philosophy is to construct from logic and science something which shall serve men of intellect in place of the faith of the masses. There have been many efforts to build up systems upon which the soul could rest, and some of them have had supporters, who claimed to be satisfied with their position. It is possible that the spirit may be partially contented through the intellect, when the latter is the absorbing power, and not superior to the theories upon which it rests. Yet human knowledge is imperfect, and human reason defective, and every system based upon them must in time prove faulty.

Some kind of religious belief, even those who are called skeptics require. It is not always merely the common people who cannot get along without religious belief; as Voltaire says, "If you have a *bourgade* to govern, it is necessary that it shall have a religion." The souls of most men are *bourgades*, and require a religion for their government. In seeking for it, in searching the human mind and nature to find primary truth, as for all honest intellectual effort, some good must spring, with something that is deplorable. Truth may reside at the bottom of a well; at least only in comparative darkness, and *de profundis* are the stars visible to the naked eye. Every system constructed with effort and skill, with the design of furnishing a resting-place for our spiritual nature, deserves to be fairly examined

and respectfully treated, however defective we may, on due consideration, find its foundations to be. If it should prove too stable to be overthrown by our logic, we might admit that it was irrefutable, at least by us; yet the faith which we have accepted will still remain to us, illumining the most secret recesses of our spirits, unquenchable by any winds of doubt, and only temporarily obscured by mists of error.

The treatises of Benedict Spinoza are generally admitted to have exercised considerable influence. Bayle, it is true, denies that Spinoza ever had many followers;* yet many men of learning and celebrity have acknowledged themselves indebted to him. He was not the founder of a sect in religion; his works are too abstruse for popular comprehension; he claims no personal infallibility, no specially divine mission, no miraculous revelation. We are told that he desired that no sect should be called after his name. "For he says in the 25th chapter of the Appendix to the fourth book of Ethics, that those who would help others to the attainment of the supreme good, together with themselves, will not desire that their doctrine be called by their name; and where he is explaining what ambition is, he plainly taxes such as do this with being ambitious of glory."† Yet this philosophy has united with and modified other systems which appear to have had greater success. In character Spinoza is said to have been amiable; his private life is generally reported as blameless. He was never a successful man in a worldly sense, and seems to have devoted himself arduously to the study of philosophy, for the purpose of discovering truth.‡

The son of a Portuguese Jew, born in Holland, endowed with a searching intellect, with a spirit that could not rest satisfied without attempting to penetrate to the fundamental causes of things, Spinoza seems to have been without a country that he could regard as his own; he early found himself

---

* *Philos. Dict.* † Preface to *Opera Posthuma.*

‡ His personal appearance could not have been attractive, if we are to believe the following; yet we may doubt the judgment of the garrulous chronicler as to what was *dismal* and *ominous:*

"Many persons who saw him have told me that he was a little man, of a yellowish complexion; that he had something dismal in his looks, and something ominous in his face."—Sequel to the *Menagiana.*

alienated from human spmpathy, without a satisfying creed, and eventually without a Deity, for the God of his fathers, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, ceased to content his soul. For a time he accepted the triune Deity of the Christian, but did not long rest in that faith. Yet some supreme object of adoration his religious nature must have, for he was truly "God-intoxicated." He felt in himself that he must be immortal; his spiritual sense must ground on the infinite, the everlasting. Fichte announced to his class that on the morrow he should create God; Spinoza proposed to himself a similar undertaking—rather he determined to apply himself diligently to an exploration of his soul and of nature in order to find the first cause, which he felt must somewhere exist.

The philosophy of Spinoza has been characterized as atheistic, and often as pantheistic. These terms do not satisfactorily represent his system; it surely was not atheistic. It is, in many of its prominent features, nearly identical with several systems which are called pantheistic, but contains much of a practical character that belongs especially to itself. In endeavoring to find a first cause, it is undoubtedly quite scientific to proceed,

"From nature up to nature's God."

The theological method is the opposite—*à priori*. Revelation being accepted, everything else is accounted for. But the skeptical mind will be continually questioning the evidences for the truth of revelation.

Sir William Hamilton has been endeavoring, and apparently not without success, to convince the world that the common-sense philosophy of his Scotch predecessors is not so absurd as has been supposed; but there is a sense common to all men which may be taken as the starting-point for a progressive system of metaphysics and ethics. The basis may be real even though we do not find the superstructure which those thinkers have built upon it at all admirable.

Spinoza endeavored to find a satisfactory starting-point. We imagine it was not so much to convince himself of the truth of his conclusions, that his speculations were at first undertaken, as to demonstrate their reasonableness to others.

To those who insist upon satisfying the intellect, resting nothing upon intuition, but making all answerable to logic, his method cannot be objectionable. He lays down certain axioms —*veræ ideæ*—and if their correctness be admitted, the rest, he believes, must certainly follow. Yet most readers, we assume, will accept or reject Spinoza's conclusions accordingly as they do or do not appeal to their intuitive convictions, or pre-established opinions, without reference to the laboriously-constructed scaffolding of logic which he has employed to assist in their erection. We will glance at these first principles, which we believe did not lead Spinoza to his final conclusions, and which will not help us to understand, or induce us to adopt them.

For the acceptance of the *veræ ideæ*, we are dependent upon something very like the common sense assumptions of Reid. "Veritas," he says. "index sui est et falsi." And again, "that I may know that I know, I must necessarily first know."*

In the Ethices he gives us a number of definitions, with explanations, of which two or three will serve as specimens:

"1. By a thing which is *causa sui*, its own cause, I mean a thing the essence of which involves the existence of it, or a thing which cannot be conceived, except as existing.

"3. By substance I mean what exists in itself and is conceived by itself, the conception of which, that is, does not involve the conception of anything else as the cause of it.

"6. God is a being absolutely infinite; a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses his eternal and infinite essence."

We also give a couple of the axioms:

"1. All things that exist, exist either of themselves or in virtue of something else.

"2. What we cannot conceive of as existing in virtue of something else, we must conceive through and in itself."

What does Spinoza prove from these definitions and axioms? We are not quite sure that he proves anything, except that he

* "Ut sciam me scire, necessario debeo prius scire." And further, "Hinc patet quod certitudo nihil est præter ipsam essentiam objectivam." *De Emendatione Intellectûs.*

had a most subtle intellect, and was a patient worker. What we want to get at is his doctrine, concerning the creation and the Creator, with which, we reaffirm, these carefully prepared axioms and the demonstrated theorems growing out of them, have really nothing to do, though our philosopher imagined they furnished the desired proof. The nature of substance, and our ideas of substance we do not care to discuss fully here; we are willing to believe our eyes and ears, and to rest content with our knowledge of knowledge, as far as it goes. Some of Spinoza's subordinate conclusions are interesting, as this concerning the reality of substance:

"If any one affirms that he has a clear, distinct—that is to say, a true—idea of substance, but that, nevertheless, he is uncertain whether any such substance exists, it is the same as if he were to affirm that he had a true idea, but yet was uncertain whether it was not false."

And thus he proceeds to demonstrate the existence of a God,—the "causa immanens omnium." He says in one of his letters that, "nothing is more clear than that, on the one hand, everything which exists is conceived by or under some attribute or other; that the more reality, therefore, a being or thing has, the more attributes must be assigned to it;" and "the more attributes I assign to a thing, the more I am forced to conceive it as existing."*

There is something in this, however we may carp at it. It reminds us of some of Poe's philosophic speculation, (and Poe had a mind for philosophy); what was jocosely called the guessing-method;—imagining every possible conception as an attribute of a thing, and then striking out what is inconsistent. By this method as well as by Spinoza's, it is easy to prove the existence of a God, for all attributes of perfection are consistent with our idea of Him.

We discover truth through the exercise of two faculties, imagination and doubt. They are two advocates, one sustaining the affirmative, the other the negative of every proposition. Reason decides between them, and gives judgment accordingly.

* Letter to De Vries.

What is God, according to the philosophy of Spinoza? He is not, as he would seem to be in the popular belief, a personal Being, stationed somewhere in space, looking upon his creation as something distinct from himself, yet in which he deigns to take an interest; acting fitfully; moved by prayers and by men's free-will acts, good or bad; capable of emotions of satisfaction or anger; establishing laws which act without his further agency; judging his creatures *finally*, when from his attribute of omniscience they must have been judged, and their destiny fixed before they were created. Is Spinozism more satisfactory then our customary belief? If it were, it would be more generally accepted. Neither is the Deity of Spinozism properly characterized as the soul of the universe. "The God of Spinoza is not attached to the world, he is the world itself; the intelligence which he accords him has nothing regulated, nothing ordained, it is only the knowledge of movements, of acts, of ideas, of forms, which are incessantly produced by a fatal necessity." *

This seems to us not different from the conclusions of Darwin and Huxley. Is it something for Spinozism that it reaches a point to which the investigations of the foremost men of science of our day have at last led? Not that we suppose a satisfactory theogony has been attained through scientific researches. There are doubtless many things in heaven and earth not yet dreamt of by philosophy or science. But there may be something in this philosophy and this science coming to the same conclusions two hundred years apart. Perhaps the Creator may yet be satisfactorily united to his universe; we may in time get some faint answer to the eternal wherefore of all ages, we may perceive a harmony and beauty in all that is done, and even be reconciled to evil, or believe in the final perfection of all without being accused of blasphemy; we may account for the present state of things without pretending to believe absurdities. For the present, we must not deny a personal Deity; neither must we be satisfied with conceiving him

* *Encyclopedie Moderne*, vol. III.

—as did Gœthe—as a central intelligence in the heart of space. As Schiller expresses it: *

> The Maker rests unseen; retired, he veils
> Himself in everlasting laws. And these,
> Not him, the skeptic sees. "Wherefore a God?"
> He cries; "the world suffices for itself!"
> And not the Christian's adoration more
> Him honors than this skeptic's blasphemy.
>
> *Don Carlos*, Act III., Scene 10.

God, according to Spinozism, is the only *causa libera;* all else is bound by iron laws of necessity. For ourselves, we are to believe in fixed fate, but not at all in free will; we only act as we must. We, in our imperfection, give names to things, as contingency, free-agency, because we are obliged to adopt these partial ideas from necessity; but in reality there is no such thing. God is subject to the necessity of his own nature; he could not act differently from what he does, because he acts out himself. Yet he is free, and he only. All of his creatures act as imperfect parts of himself. †

Evil cannot be conceived as existing according to this philosophy. What we term evil is only our imperfect notion of a part of a perfect whole. God is perfect; nature, which is what we see of him must be perfect; but we, as imperfect beings, cannot see enough to perceive the universal harmony. Everything, every person is just what God intended it to be—just what it must be as a part of God. We see through a glass darkly. Like the water-wagtail of Montgomery, we imagine that everything was made for us; at least we perceive things only in their relations to ourselves. We are apt to end as we begin with a conception of the ego and the non-ego, as expressed in the formula of some of our modern philosophers.

---

*"Den Künstler wird man nicht gewahr, bescheiden
Verhüllt er sich in ewige Gesetze!
Die sieht der Freigeist, doch nicht ihn. Wozu
Ein Gott? sagt er: die Welt ist sich genug!
Und keines Christen Andaht hat ihn mehr,
Als dieses Friegeists Lästerung, gepriesen."

† *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, c. iv., s. 4.

We cannot resist the will of God, we cannot rebel against Him; if we do so, the act itself is from God, and willed by Him. Actions are good or bad, not positively, but in our conception, and as respects the nature of the agent. We do not ascribe moral qualities to the inferior animals, neither would a higher order of beings, probably, regard us as acting in any other way than as is clearly perceived we must. On the whole, and to express it popularly, we do the best we know how. Regarding a swarm of bees or a colony of ants, we should be greatly amused at a contemplative drone or a philosophic pismire, who should consider the workers of the hive or the ant-hill as free agents, and should attempt to account for their proceedings by a system of ethics or metaphysics. It is a foolish question which Spinoza here answers, yet it has been asked by those who should have known better:

"If I am asked why, then, all mankind were not created by God so as to be governed solely by reason? It was, I reply, because there was to God no lack of matter to create all things from the highest to the lowest grade of perfection; or, to speak more properly, because the laws of God's nature were ample enough to suffice for the production of all things which can be conceived by an infinite intelligence."*

He might as well have replied that it was to make fools ask questions, the answers to which, if given, they could by no means understand. A difficulty suggested by Blyenburg is more reasonable, though Spinoza's explanation will not, we fear, be found generally satisfactory. Blyenburg declares that if what the philosopher says be true, then bad men fulfil God's will as well as good. Spinoza answers:

"It is true that they fulfil it, yet not as the good, nor as well as the good, nor are they to be compared with them. The better a thing or a person is, the more there is in it or him of God's spirit, and the more he expresses God's will; while the bad, being without that divine love which arises from the knowledge of God, and through which alone we are called—in respect of our understandings—his servants, are but as instruments in the hand of the artificer; they serve unconsciously, and are consumed in the service."†

---

* Ethics. † Correspondence with Blyenburg.

Again he is referred to Nero's murder of his mother Aggripina, and asked if his God is the cause of such things. He answers:

"God is the cause of all things which have reality. If you can show that evil, errors, crimes, express any real things, I agree readily that God is the cause of them; but I conceive myself to have proved that what constitutes the essence of evil is not a real thing at all, and that, therefore, God cannot be the cause of it. Nero's matricide was not crime, in so far as it was a positive outward act. Orestes also killed his mother; and we do not judge Orestes as we judge Nero. The crime of the latter lay in his being without pity, without obedience, without natural affection—*none of which things express any positive essence, but the absence of it;* and, therefore, God was not the cause of these, although he was the cause of the act and the intention."*

Spinoza, it is seen, was entirely consistent, and was not to be jostled from his position by any difficulties which could be raised. We do not expect, however, that Spinozism will ever be found a satisfactory basis for man's conduct in relation to his fellows. Men will continue to judge one another; laws will be made, and law-breakers will be punished. Spinoza admitted this, yet his system remains the same, and insists upon its own consistency! However we shall continue to regard each others' acts, and our own, as good or bad, as wise or unwise, and shall believe that in any given case we might have acted differently; and we shall draw lessons from our own experience and that of others, and imagine ourselves to be guided by principles so derived. We shall do thus, perhaps, because God so wills it, and we could not act differently if we willed, and we shall not will, except as God wills. It is a periphery of reasoning about which we whirl and do not advance. Meanwhile, what we must regard as the practical difficulties of life and of faith remain unsolved.

The pantheistic portion of Spinozism is by no means new; it is perhaps as old as religious speculation, for where or by whom it originated is undetermined. It was held by some most ancient sects of the Hindoos, and was in vogue among the

* Correspondence with Blyenburg.

Chinese. The doctrine of the Sadducees was similar, and from them a Mahometan sect, the Zindikites, derived their pantheistic tenets.* David of Dinant, in the thirteenth century, held that God and matter were identical, and Alexander, the Epicurean, declared that all things were essentially God.† This doctrine, as understood among the Romans, is well expressed by Seneca:

"They mean the same Jupiter as we, the preserver and governor of the universe, or mind and spirit, the lord and artificer of this mundane fabric, to whom every appellation doth agree. Will you call him fate? You will not be mistaken. It is he upon whom all things depend, the cause of causes. Will you name him providence? You will be in the right. For it is he by whose care this world is so ordered that it goes on steadily and exerts its operations. Will you give him the name of nature? You mistake not. For it is he from whom all things receive their beginning, by whose spirit we live. Will you call him the world? You speak the truth. For he is all what you see, all diffused through all its parts, and supporting himself by his own power."‡

It was also taught by Empedocles, and is thus expressed in the discourse of Cato:

Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum et virtus? Superos quid quaerimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quodcunque moveris.‖

From the standpoint of Deity, as by his system we are led to conceive it, the position of Spinoza seems reasonable. Applied to men in their relations with each other, it is incredible. Relatively to his fellows, man is an imperfect being; he is subject to changes, and should be induced to mend his ways.

If God is all, and all is God, why not for a speculative theory conceive of God as *imperfect;* but as struggling toward perfection which, from his nature, he must eventually attain? If the whole is perfect, the parts must be so,—relatively to the whole: so far Spinozism is reasonable. But the parts are not

* *Pietro della Valle*, t. iii, p. 394.
† Albertus in I. *Phys. Tract.* iii, c. xiii.
‡ Seneca, *Quaest. Natur.* l. ii, c. 14.
‖ Lucan, *Pharsalia* l. ix, v. 578.

perfect to any possible conception of ours, and it is too much for our finite intelligence to believe them so. Shall we admit that there are two causes, the one perfect, the other imperfect; one good, the other evil? Then they must be both first causes; for evil cannot proceed from good; the nature of the parts cannot differ from that of the whole. If God is all perfect, all good, then all that emanates from him is good, and must ever remain so; for it could acquire no attributes which are not from him, from whom *all* is. Here we come back to Spinozism again.

It has always been difficult to reconcile God's goodness with the evidences of cruelty in the world. Animals, from the highest to the lowest, prey upon each other; some are formed expressly to subsist by the destruction of those weaker than themselves. Live and let live, is not the law of animated nature, but life is sustained at the expense of life. Many turn with horror from the contemplation of this state of things, and sometimes doubt if the Ruler of the world—whom we are told is omnipotent—can be good. Pain, we say, is a fact; and not all the systems of all the philosophers and theologians can dispose of it, or reconcile a benevolent nature to its existence. "O ye fools and blind!" says Spinozism, "pain exists but in your imaginations; it is only a notion of yours." Give us the proof; and proof, of a metaphysical kind, Spinoza will give us, but it does not satisfy. We want facts, material facts, which our dull comprehensions can penetrate. This, even, is not wanting, though not furnished by Spinoza, and our philosophy and Deity are not without justification. It is doubtful that animals suffer much in being destroyed by the carnivora; men may be eaten by lions and tigers without experiencing particularly unpleasant sensations. Such—or nearly to that point—is the testimony of Dr. Livingstone:

"Starting and looking half round, I saw the lion just in the act of springing upon me. I was upon a little height: he caught my shoulder as he sprung, and we both came to the ground below together. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog shakes a rat. The shook produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess,

in which there was no sense of pain or feeling of terror, though I was quite conscious of all that was happening. It was like what patients, partially under the influence of chloroform, describe, who see all the operation, but feel not the knife. This singular condition was not the result of any mental process. The shake annihiliated fear, and allowed no sense of horror on looking round at the beast. *This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora ;* and, if so, is a merciful provision of our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death."*

To the same effect is the testimony of others who have barely escaped destruction by wild beasts. We see that it is possible to conceive that

"Whatever is, is right."

The universe again resolves itself into harmony in our understanding; and Spinozism is not altogether absurd. It is questionable if pain is a positive thing; if it is not a negative accompaniment to pleasure. A lesser degree of it is given as a suggestion to the instinct of self-preservation. Yet, when suffered, we believe that all whose souls have risen above it, who have fairly philosophized upon it, have found that there are sufficient compensations; that it is not impossible to conceive it as always beneficial. It is seldom to be voluntarily endured, and generally cannot be from a law of our nature. The power of the nerves to feel pain is limited; it can never overcome an active will—in other words, no one can suffer more than he is able to bear. Martyrs have perished joyfully in the flames or on the rack; religious enthusiasts of all ages have inflicted upon themselves the most fearful injuries, and remained apparently unconscious of suffering. It will be said that religious zeal raised these persons above physical consciousness; and we assert that the higher faculties of the soul, actively exerted, can at any time make any one indifferent to nervous sensation. This has been often exemplified on battle fields and in military hospitals. With a sufficient amount of spiritually exercised will, pain will be found a stimulus to our higher

* Travels in Africa.

mental qualities, bringing us something more than equal compensation.

Cicero discourses upon this subject in his usual admirable manner. He will not deny that pain is an evil, but ridicules Epicurus, and refutes the Stoics when they assert that it is not. "This argument," he says, "is a better one, and has more truth in it, that all things which nature abhors are to be looked upon as evil; that those which she approves of are to be considered as good." * Yet the wise man will rise above this as over all necessary ills.

"Wherefore, if, as you granted in the beginning, infamy is worse than pain, pain is certainly nothing; for while it appears to you base and unmanly to groan, cry out, lament, or faint under pain,—while you cherish notions of probity, dignity, honor, and keeping your eye on them refrain yourself—pain will certainly yield to virtue, and by the influence of imagination, will lose its whole force. For you must either admit that there is no such thing as virtue, or you must despise every kind of pain." †

The assertion that pain is, or may be, a blessing, will not grow into an article of popular faith, we apprehend. Neither Epicurus nor Spinoza could make a man with the gout believe himself favored in having such a disease. It would seem like an insult to say to a person suffering with a raging toothache, "Be virtuous and you will be happy;" though if he is superstitious, he may impute his present affliction to former transgressions, and certainly if it is due to a violation of the laws of health he will be right. But that he should continue to expose himself that he may have the luxury of feeling pain, no sane man will believe wise.

"The life we enjoy is the result of maternal agony; our very bread

---

* *Tusc. Disp.*, b. ii., 12.

† *Tusc. Disp.*, b. ii., 13. He goes further and shows virtue and courage to be identical. "Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo. Cujus munera duo sunt maxima mortis, dolorisque, contemptio. Utendum est igitur his, si virtutis compotes, vel potius si viri volumus esse, quoniam a viris virtus nomen est mutata." *Ib.*, 18.

is only obtained after the evil and anguish of suffering myriads; there is not one atom of the knowledge we possess now which has not, in some century of the world or other, been wrung out of nature's secrets by the sweat of the brow, or the sweat of the heart. The very peace which we are enjoying at this present day, how has that been purchased? By the blood of heroes whose bodies are now lying mouldering in the trenches of a thousand battle-fields."*

To account by the Spinozic philosophy for the different notions of body and mind would seem to be not easy. Our conception of substance is not a mere delusion, we must believe; our bodies are a reality. If body and mind are two distinct things, how account for their union? Leibnitz had a theory which he called the "Harmonie Pré-établie," which was probably suggested by the writings of Spinoza. According to this, matter and mind are co-existent; bodies are formed, and minds found to exactly match them. Leibnitz illustrates his theory by supposing two watches so constructed as to run together perfectly. There are two ways in which this can be done. One is by having them both made so as to run in harmony, the other by having a skilled watchmaker to constantly oversee and regulate their movements. The one plan would illustrate the view of those who hold the Creator as continually busied in regulating the universe; the other view, which Leibnitz regards as more reasonable, is that the world was perfectly constructed in the beginning, and consequently needs no tinkering.†

This will help us to understand the doctrine of Spinoza. The body acts independently of the mind, not only in what we call the ordinary operations of nature, but in less easily-comprehensible particulars. The body does not affect the power of the mind as respects thought, nor does mind control body. Yet body is the *ideate* of mind, and whatsoever it does the mind perceives. They are, in fact, one and the same thing; one being with diverse qualities. What we call mind and what we call body, each does its own work. To comprehend this it may help us to consider the inferior animals and

* F. W. Robertson's Sermons, fifth series, xx.

† Leibnitz *Opera*, t. 1. p. 133.

their works, which, if we conceive them to be undirected by mind, are, perhaps, as wonderful, proportionately, as the operations of our more perfect bodies. "What body can or cannot do," says Spinoza, "no one has yet determined; body, *i.e.*, by the law of its own nature, and without assistance from mind. No one has so probed the human frame as to have detected all its functions and exhausted the list of them. There are powers exhibited by animals far exceeding human sagacity; and, again, feats are performed by somnambulists on which, in the waking state, the same persons would never venture—itself a proof that body is able to accomplish what mind can only admire."

The unconscious operations of the body, it may be said, are as inexplicable as those we attribute to the workings of the mind. And we are brought, at length, to the problem of the principle of life, which is altogether insolvable by human reason; though Spinozism furnishes, doubtless, as rational a theory as can be adduced.

We should have liked to ask the philosopher whether the physical act of writing those treatises of his was made altogether independently of his mind? He would probably have answered that the two worked in perfect harmony, each independent of the other. Yet with this answer we should hardly be satisfied, for the plan of his work must have been a mental conception, and the impulse to put it in writing must have proceeded from the mind—such, at least, is the apprehension which our mind insists upon, and our body helps us to record the conclusions.

A thought grows out of the theory of the "Harmonie Préétablie" which may be worthy of a passing notice. The body which the mind selects for itself, or which is selected for it, or whose particles arrange themselves in accordance with law for its uses, must be exactly adapted to it. Spinoza would say that they are one and the same thing under different manifestations. Then, if our ideas of loveliness and unloveliness, of excellence and imperfection, are correct, we can judge a person rightly by his corporeal form, and we are not confined to the features which, as we say, reveal the soul. For all his physical imper-

fections, even what are called hereditary diseases, he is responsible; or they are a part of him, even of the immortal; at least they reveal the nature of the entire being.

When the body is resolved into its original elements, what becomes of the mind, or soul, which accompanied it? Is that, too, resolved into its elements, becoming a part of the spiritual portion of Deity? Nearly to this—the *nirwana* of the Hindoos*—does Spinozism lead us—yet not quite. Some of our faculties perish utterly; what pertains to sense, to memory, to the imagination. What is God-like exists eternally. Some persons have in them nothing durable, and they shall be finally annihilated. Indeed, they never were anything but a delusion. We have existed before birth—those of us who have existed at all—and we shall exist after death.†

We find some difficulty in reconciling this with another declaration that "Mens humana ipsum humanum corpus non cognoscit, nec ipsum existere scit, nisi per ideas affectionum quibus corpus afficitur."‡

And also, "Mens se ipsam non cognoscit, nisi quatenus corporis affectionum ideas percipit." ‖

As a summary of the religious tendencies of Spinozism, we quote his declaration that "the mind of man being part of the Infinite intelligence, when we say that such a mind perceives this thing or that, we are, in fact, saying that God perceives it, not as He is infinite, but as He is represented by the nature of this or that idea; and similarly, when we say that a man does this or that action, we say that God does it, not as He is infinite, but as He is expressed in that man's nature." And after all, this is not materially different—though it associates the

---

* See the *Bhagavat Gita*.

† "Sentimus experimurque," says Spinoza, "nos aeternos esse. Nam mens non minus res illas sentit quas intelligendo concipit, quam quas in memoria habet. Mentis enim oculi quibus res videt observatque sunt ipsae demonstrationes!"

‡ "The human mind does not recognize the human body itself, neither know to exist, except through the ideas of the affections, by which the body is affected." Ethics. Pars II. Prop. xix.

‖ "The mind knows not itself, except so far as it perceives the ideas of the affections of the body." Prop. xxiii.

parts of Deity more intimately in our conception—from the philosophy expressed in the familiar lines:

> "All are but parts of one harmonious whole,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul."

What are the practical bearings of Spinozism upon our life and actions? If we receive into our natures this philosophy, in what direction will be our consequent development? It was for the purpose of self-direction that Spinoza speculated, and it was that others might be benefitted by his conclusions that he gave them to the world. We want to know how he would have us act that our condition may be bettered. Spinoza did not believe in total depravity, nor in the sinfulness of human nature at all. The tendencies of our souls are in the right direction; as God wills them to be; still we are susceptible of improvement. "Most people," he says, "deride or vilify their nature; it is a better thing to endeavor to understand it." With this sentiment no enlightened person at the present day will quarrel, we opine. We wish to understand our nature, and shall be thankful to any one who will assist us to do so. "However extravagant my proceeding may be thought," says Spinoza, "I propose to analyze the properties of that nature as if it were a mathematical figure." It is a difficult problem which he undertakes to solve, but he does it in a masterly manner.

Mind is not to be regarded as a faculty, but merely as an act, or an idea corresponding to certain affections of the body. All forms of consciousness, or sensation, are comprehended under the notion of mind. The mind, like the body, is composed of many small portions, and the two are united by the relations of these component parts. There are many divine inclinations of body and mind; we are to balance and harmonize these to attain the most perfect development of which we are capable.

Spinozism, like all systems where the attainment of truth is the end of speculation, comes round to the point of accepting the dictates of what we call conscience, as the guide of life. All philosophies, all sincere religious systems, ancient or modern,

accept the same conclusion. The difficulty seems to be in deciding where there may be differences of perception as to what is right. "Happiness," says Spinoza, "is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself." Whatever makes us happy, that is good. We may reverse the old maxim and say, be happy and you will show yourself to be good. This certainly is a pleasing conclusion, and one which we ought all joyfully to accept, if we can. It is a rule which an unwarped nature could make no mistakes in following. In attempting to make happiness consequent upon virtuous behavior, we may be deceived as to the nature of our actions. But let us study our consciousness as to the effect which each act has upon us, making us happy or unhappy, and we cannot go wrong, if conscience is reliable.

Accepting all as from God, and a part of God, we shall seek the happiness of all. To love God is to love all manifestations of Him, and in this love we shall all be happy. We shall not, if we adopt Spinozism, look upon evil as a thing to be studied and avoided; we shall consider only the good and aspire to it. "The wise man will not speak in society of his neighbors' faults, and sparingly of human nature; but he will speak largely of human virtue and human power, and of the means by which that nature can best be perfected, so to lead men to put away that fear and aversion with which they look on goodness, and learn with relieved hearts to love and desire it."

Goethe declared that he could not but find satisfaction in a system which led to conclusions such as are expressed in the Spinozic question, "If I love thee, what is that to thee?" It is difficult for our selfish human nature to accept practically the beautiful sentiment thus expressed, but Christianity leads to the same point. "He who loves God," continues Spinoza, "will not desire that God should love him in return with any partial or particular affection, for that is to desire that God for his sake should change His everlasting nature and become lower than himself."

Accepting Spinozism, we could not be uncharitable. The bad in our fellows, we should say, is their misfortune, rather than their fault. If they knew better they would behave better.

The laws governing human conduct are as inexorable as those which keep the planets in their orbits. As knowledge increases —that is, as God reveals or perfects himself—evil will disappear. From immoderate desire, from ignorance of the consequences of indulgence, arise most of the ills of life. When we know what, and how much of a thing is good for us, we shall govern ourselves accordingly, and escape the penalties by which we are now overtaken. "Mens humana, quaedam agit, quaedam vero patitur." We are passive beings in our ignorance; but where we act upon knowledge we are positive and may be considered as independent. Whatever we really do as independent beings is good, a declaration to which none of us will object, can we but be persuaded of its truth.

By the laws of our nature each is striving after what will conduce to his development. The misfortune is, that like persons nearly starved when offered food, we ignorantly over-indulge our appetites, and suffer in consequence. It is right that we should desire, and inevitable that we should seek to satisfy our cravings, for only thus can we advance. We may, however, indulge one appetite so as to strengthen one part at the expense of the whole. If we love God, we shall seek after and attain balanced perfection and unalloyed happiness. If we are wise we shall not be unduly swayed by passion; we shall calmly accept what God grants us, knowing that more or less would be injurious. We cannot fear, for nothing can happen to us except what is willed by a benevolent Deity; we shall not hate, for such a sentiment is incompatible with this faith; we shall not concern ourelves about the future, for that is arranged for us by divine beneficence.

Spinozism is certainly a peaceful faith; it is also a joyous one. It teaches us to look upon nature as something divine. The world is a temple for worship—rather, it is itself an object of worship. The human body in all its parts and functions, human nature in all its maifestations, demand our reverence, for they are expressions of Deity. We tolerate all creeds, all efforts to express the adoration which should be felt by all for everything. Even fetischism is respectable; rocks, mountains, trees, stars and suns are adorable, for all are God.

Looking upon our fellow-beings, we shall see only what is good in them; what is not good, is only a passive quality, a negation, or imperfection. What is good we shall love; what is not good exists not. The vacuums, we may hope, will be filled up in time; if not, those we cannot love will cease to be, and in a future state there will be nothing unloveable.

Spinoza's practical conclusions have in them much that is admirable. Yet his philosophy, as a system, may be and generally is regarded as a failure, notwithstanding that his logic is usually accurate and subtle. He has been refuted by many Christian and infidel philosophers—by Bonlainvilliers, Fenelon, Velthuyse, Poiret, Leibnitz, Voltaire* and others. Yet many men of excellent judgment—like Goethe—have adopted his tenets, and confessed themselves greatly indebted to them. His theories, being built up altogether upon logic and science, must necessarily be undermined by the advancement of knowledge. No system, merely human, can long endure, or ever prove entirely satisfying.

ART. III.—1. *Répertoire Bibliographique Universel*, par GABRIEL PEIGNOT. Paris, 1812.

2. *Auteurs déguisés sous des noms étrangers, empruntés, supposés, feints à plaisir, abrégés, chiffrés, renversés, retournés, ou changés d'une langue en autre*, par ADRIEN BAILLET. Paris, 1690.

3. *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes, composés, traduits, ou publiés en francais, avec les noms des auteurs, traducteurs, et éditeurs, accompagné de notes historiques et critiques*, par ANTOINE-ALEXANDRE BARBIER, bibliothécaire du conseil d'Etat. Paris, 1806–8.

---

* Voltaire's summing up of Spinoza is characteristically pointed and effective: "Vous êtes tres confus, Baruch Spinosa: mais êtes-vous aussi dangereux qu'on le dit? Je soutiens que non; et ma raison c'est que vous êtes confus, que vous avez écrit en mauvais latin, et qu'il n'y a pas dix personnes en Europe que vous lisent d' un bout a l'autre, quoiqu'on vous ait traduit en français.

4. *Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum detectorum*, JOHANNIS CHRISTOPHERI MYLII, cum prefatione GOTTLIEB STALLII. Hamburg, 1740.

5. *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum*, VINCENTII PLACCII, edente FABRICIO: MATTHIAS DREYER. 2 vols. Hamburg, 1708.

FEW are aware of the extent and variety of anonymous literature. In the works, the names of which are at the head of this article, many thousands of anonymous works and of authors writing under feigned names are mentioned. Mylius, who was a librarian at Jena, in Prussia, at the beginning of the last century, gave much attention to the subject, but he confined his researches to Latin, German, and French authors and works, yet he alone discovered 3,200, of which number 1,700 were French. His work appeared in 1740, but his labors have been taken up by others since that time and the list of anonymous books is now incredibly long. The large work of Vincentius Placcius, originally published in 1674, was in two large folio volumes: but the edition of it subsequently given to the world by John Albert Fabricius, in 1708, was very much enlarged; it contained the names of 6,000 anonyms and pseudonyms, French, English, Dutch, German, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Hebrew, etc.; and the subjects of which they treated were as various. Theology and biblical literature furnished a very large proportion of them. In fact, these two branches of study have been distinguished by special attention from these learned investigators of literary curiosities, and voluminous treatises have been written thereon. We might mention, among others, those of John Deckherr,* Gabriel Graddeck,† John Christopher Wolf,‡ and Andreas Stiernmann.‖ The Germans and the French have taken the lead in this species of investigation; the English have taken but little interest in it;

---

* *De Scriptis adespotis, pseudepigraphis et suppositiis conjectura.* Amsterdam, 1686.

† *Pseudonymorum hebraicorum Hexacontas.*

‡ *Notitiæ de scriptis hebræorum anonymis.*

‖ *Anonymorum ex scriptoribus gentis suiogothicæ Centuria prima.*

the Italians have done somewhat, but nothing to be compared with the patient labors of their neighbors north of the Alps. The most noted Italians in this department of literature are Giovanni Seneso* and Cajetano Giardina.† But of late years the subject appears to have excited but little interest. No work of such magnitude or patient research as that of Placcius, Mylius, Barbier, or Baillet, so far as we are aware, (except Quérard's hereafter mentioned,) has appeared, although the amount of anonymous and pseudonymous writing has been enormous within the last half century. When we refer to the daily press of this country alone, with its thousands of anonymous editorials, it will be seen what a vast field of labor is opened up; to say nothing of the papers, magazines, reviews, and other periodical publications of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the rest of Europe, wherein anonymous writing is the rule, pseudonymous common, and (excepting in France) avowed authorship rare.

It is well, in discussing a subject, to have a clear understanding as to the meaning of the terms to be used in it. We shall therefore premise that the word "anonymous" will be used in its strict sense, as meaning "without a name." The work "pseudonymous," which in Greek signifies "falsely named," will be applied either to authors who have published works under a false name, or to works which have appeared under a supposititious one. Pseudonyms are sometimes qualified as "allonyms," "heteronyms," and "cryptonyms," but all these definitions come to very nearly the same thing. In general the word "pseudonym" is suited to those who affix to their works a fictitious name invented at will. It will not, however, strictly apply to those who have amused themselves with or been guilty of literary forgeries or impostures, or imitations of other authors, or spurious editions, or fabrications of authorities. Each of these, of which there are many instances, must stand on their own merits or demerits. They form, however, a most interest-

---

* *La Visiera alzata Hecatoste di scrittori, che vaghi d'andare in Maschera fuor del tempo di carnovale sono scoperti.*

† *De recta methodo citandi auctores et auctoritates, animadversiones criticæ, quibus de pseudonymis plagiariis et anonymis cognitiones accedunt.*

ing class of literary curiosities, and a volume might easily be written concerning them. There is yet another curious class to which the term "pseudographer" will not apply, viz.: those who cite authorities which are yet to come into existence. Of these, the late Robert C. Sands, of the New York Commercial Advertiser, was a remarkable example. He had a propensity for innocent and playful literary mischief. It was his sport to excite public curiosity by giving extracts, highly spiced with fashionable allusions and satire, from "the forthcoming novel," which novel, in truth, was, and is yet to be written; or else to entice some unhappy wight into a literary or historical newspaper discussion, then to combat him anonymously, or, under the mask of a brother editor, to overwhelm him with history, facts, quotations, and authorities, all manufactured for the occasion. One instance of this occured in relation to a controversy about the material of the Grecian crown of victory. Several young gentlemen, fresh from college, had exhausted all their learning on the subject, till Sands grew tired of seeing so much scholarship wasted, and ended the controversy by an essay filled with learning, chiefly fabricated by himself for the occasion, and resting mainly on a passage in Pausanias, quoted in the original Greek, for which it is in vain to look in any edition of that author, ancient or modern.*

Some authors have gone further than Sands did: they have announced titles of works which they stated they were preparing for the press, but of which nothing but the titles was ever written. Even Paschal, the historiographer of France, condescended to such trifling; but it is said he had a motive in doing it, which was that his pension for writing the history of France might not be stopped; and yet, when he died, his historical labors were found not to exceed six pages! But few have been so fortunate as he was.

Varillas was another French historian guilty of impositions on the public, through the medium of pretended citations of titles, instructions, letters, and memoirs, all of them his own

---

* *The writings of Robert C. Sands in prose and verse.* 2 vols. New York 1834. Introductory Memoir, p. 17.

inventing. He gave his conjectures as facts, while he quoted at random his pretended authorities. For a time he enjoyed considerable reputation as a historian, which, perhaps, was mainly owing to his constant professions of sincerity and of deep research; but at length he was suspected, and then discovered and exposed.* He may be classed among the literary impostors as well as the pseudographers. But forgeries and impostures, such as these, and as those of Samuel Ireland with regard to Shakespeare, do not properly come under the head of pseudonymic writings.

Nor do literary liars merit classification with pseudonymists. Annius of Viterbo, master of the palace under Pope Alexander VI., was a great sinner in this way. He pretended that he had discovered the genuine works of Sanchaniatho, Manetho, Berasus, and others, of which only fragments are in existence, and he published seventeen books of antiquities; but he never would admit that he was a forger, declaring that he had found these works buried in the earth, though he never had any manuscripts to produce.

At the close of the last century, one Giuseppe Vella, a Sicilian, pretended that he possessed seventeen of the lost books of Livy in Arabic, and the history of Sicily during the Arabic period. In proof of this he exhibited some Arabic manuscripts, which, however, when examined, were found not to contain a syllable of what he said. The history of this man's impostures is a very singular one. A more daring literary impostor never existed.†

M. Barbier says: "It would be easy for me to prove that in every library composed of useful books, one-third of them have no indication of the authors, translators, or editors."‡ This is probably an exaggeration, yet no doubt the number is very large, and the proper classification of them has always been a

---

* See his *Histoire de Charles IX.* and *Histoire Secrète de la Maison de Medicis.*

† A full account of him is given in D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, tit. "Literary Impostures."

‡ *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes. Discours préliminaire.* "Il me serait facile de prouver que dans toute bibliothèque composée d'ouvrages utiles il en existe un tiers sans indication d'auteurs, traducteurs, ou éditeurs."

source of trouble to librarians and bibliographers. History tells us that in some instances persons using a *nom de plume* instead of their own have got into trouble. The Council of Trent decreed that no book should be published concerning religion or sacred things, without the name of the author. This decree was confirmed in France by a law of Henry II., in 1547. In 1572 Charles IX. signed an ordinance forbidding all disguising of the name or the place of printing. An edict of Louis XIII., issued in 1626, forbids the printing of any book, letter, harangue, or other writing, "without the name of the author": but the Parliament which registered this law, restricted it to works concerning religion and affairs of state. Pope Clement VIII. modified the decrees of his predecessors by ordaining that "only those books should be condemned which contained doctrine manifestly bad, or of suspected faith or hurtful to morals. And where the author was unknown, or his name concealed for just cause, the name of the examining bishop or inquisitor should be written." The pope was of opinion that anonymous publication was often resorted to as a means of procuring the opinion of the public on a work, unbiassed by any personal considerations; and he knew that "often learned and holy men had published very good books without declaring their names, so that the church might profit therefrom and they avoid vain-glory."

During the days of the French republic the National Assembly passed a law by which the writers in public journals were compelled to sign their articles. This law very seriously affected the independence and dignity of the press in France. But the laws passed under Charles X., Louis Philippe, and Napoleon III., went very nearly to the extent of annihilating the press altogether; at all events they reduced it to such a condition that it could not without imminent risk of suppression, fine, and imprisonment, express any sentiments at all hostile to the government. The anonymous system was most rigorously prohibited. M. Gabriel Peignot has taken the pains to compile a list and a history of works condemned to the flames by the Church and the State. This book forms a curious sequel to his *Répertoire*.

The learned French author before mentioned, M. A. Barbier,

was indefatigable in his researches into anonymous and pseudonymous literature. In his great work, the *Dictionnarie des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, he has collected the names of nearly 24,000 anonymous works, with notes, giving a brief account of many of them. And to this he has added a list of upwards of 2,000 authors who have used *noms de plume*, and adding these to another list of anonymous writers compiled by him, he has given to the world about 17,000 names of persons of all nations who have contributed to this department of literature. He certainly takes precedence of all others who have labored in the same field, for, in addition to his great Dictionary, he was the author of nine other works of an analogous character. M. Barbier was also a constant contributor to periodicals, reviews and encyclopædias. He was completely under the domination of the *cacoethes scribendi*, and he might fairly have said of himself as the poet, John Gower, did of his own career:

> "Dum potui, scripsi, sed nunc, quia curva senectus
> "Turbavit sensus, scripta relinquo scholis." *

He died in 1825, and his eldest son added a biographical memoir of him to the *Dictionnaire*. In the course of this he pays the following tribute to his father's learning and industry: "Sa perte a été d' autant plus vivement sentie dans la république des lettres que ce qu'il a écrit n'est qu'une faible partie de ce que promettait encore l' etendue de ses connaissances. Une plus longue carrière lui eut permi sans doute d'ajouter à ses importantes productions beaucoup d'autres ouvrages dont il est à craindre que nous ne soyons privés, parce qu 'ils exigeaient des recherches sans nombre, et toute la vaste erudition qu'il avait acquise au prix de tant de veilles." †

M. Louis Barbier was mistaken, to a certain extent, in supposing that the requisite researches to carry on the work would not be forthcoming, for his father has found a successor equally

---

* Todd's *Illustrations of Gower*, XVII, 88.

† *Notice biographique et littéraire.* See vol. 4, of the *Dictionnarie des Ouvrages Anonymes*, p. xxi.

laborious in Joseph Marie Quérard, whose recent work * has continued the catalogue down to the present day, and added many hundreds of additional names.

In this work Mr. Quérard treats of all persons who have written in French, in all parts of Europe, and have disguised themselves under anagrams, asteronyms, cryptonyms, initials, literary names, pseudonyms, facetious or strange, etc.† He brings forward several thousand names, and it really would seem that this kind of writing was the rule, and that putting one's name to a work was the exception. Mr. Ralph Thomas, under the anagram of Olphar Hamst, about two years ago, produced a work on the pseudonyms of modern and living authors, and they amount to about 2,000.‡ But it should be known that sometimes an author adopts several *noms de plume*, each one suited to the particular work in hand. Thus, Voltaire appears under no fewer than ninety-five pseudonyms, and nine writers falsely affixed his name to their works. Zadkiel, the seer, would himself be puzzled to tell where all this mystification ends, though he has for years dealt in it, and few recognize Richard J. Morrison under that prophetic title. Shakespeare makes his clowns quote from fictitious authors. One of them says to Olivia, "For what says Quinapalus? Better a witty fool than a foolish wit."§

M. Barbier attached a wider signification to the word "anonymous" than others do, or than we have done. He adopted the rule that all works should be considered anonymous if the name of the author did not appear on the frontispiece. Sometimes the name of the author is found at the end of a dedicatory epistle, or in a preface, or in the certificate of the approval of the censor, or in the body of the license for printing, or following that license. One might, therefore, distinguish

---

* *Supercheries littéraires devoilées*, 3 vols. Second Edition by M. M. Brunet and Jannet, Paris, 1870,

† "Galerie des écrivains Francais de toute l' Europe, qui se sont déguisés sous des anagrammes, des asteronymes, des cryptonymes, des noms littéraires des pseudonymes, facetieux ou bizarres," etc.

‡ *Handbook of fictitious names*, London, 1868.

§ *Twelfth Night*, Act I, Scene v.

between different kinds of anonymous works; but the custom, he says, is to class them all together, and to refer solely to the frontispiece to decide the point.* This definition differs from that given in the Dictionary of the French Academy, and it does not give the correct idea of what an anonymous work really is. According to the Academy, the word "anonymous" applies only to works whose authors are unknown, but M. Barbier offered his rule as the result of labor bestowed upon a multitude of works whose authors' names, though fouud in the books, are not mentioned in the frontispiece. It must be confessed that his plan is an arbitrary one: he offers no valid reason for it, and he abandoned it in the last edition of his Dictionary.†

Pseudonymic writing has come into vogue in England and America, chiefly during the present and preceding generation. In the last century the use of pseudonyms was rare. The best known and remembered is that of "Junius." In their time those famous letters of Junius caused a great sensation by reason of the audacity of the attacks made in them on the British ministers, but it may well be questioned whether they would have survived to posterity had it not been for the secrecy so inviolably kept as to their authorship. This adroit baffling of every effort made by the British government to discover the author, and the uncertainty which has attended the results of all subsequent investigations of the subject, have cast an air of mystery over it which will probably long render it attractive, and invest it with a literary importance to which the merits of the letters themselves, although undoubtedly great, do not entitle it. "Candour," has been generally believed to be identical with "Junius," and both are credited to Sir Philip Francis on very good grounds, with which, however, we are not at present concerned. The point to be dwelt upon is the success which attended the adoption of a *nom de plume* in Sir Philip's case when it is morally certain that had he avowed

* "Mais l' usage est de les ramener toutes à une seule, et de s'en rapporter au frontispice pour la determiner." (Discours préliminaire, § 1.)

† J'ai retranche beaucoup d'articles de ce genre dans la nouvelle edition de ce Dictionnaire. (Ibid, note nouvelle.)

himself the author of the letters of "Junius" and "Candour," he would have felt the full weight of the vindictiveness of the British government. The nation at large was a gainer by his fearless expression of opinion on the tyrannical acts of the Duke of Grafton and Lord North, though no great praise for courage can be given to the denouncer who skulks behind a screen.

To our thinking a far more illustrious specimen of pseudonymic writing is to be found in Chatterton's poems of the Monk Rowley, under which disguise the too sensitive and unfortunate youth hoped to shelter himself from the ferocity of the critics; though there are some who think that the pretended manuscripts of Rowley were not wholly fictitious.* The assumption of a pseudonym for purely literary purposes stands on a very different footing from the assumption of it for political purposes. The one very often adds to the pleasing effect of a work, while the other serves as a mere screen for the author. We have an affectionate remembrance of "Sir Roger de Coverley" and "Will. Honeycomb," the tacitum "Spectator," and the reflective "Citizen of the World;" they rise up before our mind's eye as old friends, while "Martinus Scriblerus," "M. B. Drapier," and "Isaac Bickerstaff" represent the misanthropical cynic imbued with the most terrible severity of sarcasm. There is nothing attractive about them.

"The Author of Waverley" has much to answer for in giving popularity to pseudonyms. For as all the world was on the *qui vive* to find out "The Great Unknown," so imitators were not wanting. "Charlotte Elizabeth," "Barry Cornwall," "Elia," "Boz," "The author of Pelham," "Currer Bell," "George Eliot," "Jeames Yellowplush," "Peter Plymley," "Ingoldsby," "Festus," "Delta," "Felix Summerly" and "Peter Parley," followed in quick succession; and a host of humorists have sought to add to their reputation for facetiousness by the singularity of their *noms de plume*. It is, however, in the United States that the practice has attained to its greatest luxuriance. In England, the aspirants for pseudonymic celebrity content themselves with enigmatical names like "Ouida," "Silverpen," "Beth-

* See Tyrwhitt's Vindication of his Appendix to Chatterton's Poems,

el," or with those of which the sex cannot be determined, as "Currer Bell," "Acton Bell," "Ellis Bell," "F. G. Trafford;" or with high-sounding ones, like "Pisistratus Caxton," "Historicus," "Owen Meredith," "Cornelius O'Dowd," "Guy Livingstone," "Michael Angelo Titmarsh," "Margaret Maitland," "Father Prout," "Alfred Crowquill," "Cyril Thornton." But the imagination of the natives of the great republic is more exuberant, and gives vent to itself under the guise of "Fanny Fern," "Jennie June," "Hattie Hateful," "Paul Parallel," "Oliver Optic," "Timothy Titcomb," "Old Nick," "Yuba Dam," "Sam Slick," "Squibob," "Doesticks," "Mrs. Partington," "John Phœnix," "Josh Billings," "Mark Twain," "Artemus Ward," "Petroleum V. Nasby," "John Quill," "Corry O'Lanus," "Deacon Kurtz," "Phazma," and "Ned Buntline." Some prefer a dash of the learned in their designations: such are "Orpheus C. Kerr," "Meister Karl," "Carl Benson," "Porte-Crayon;" and some select the romantic, as "Grace Greenwood," "Grace Egerton," "Barry Gray," "Marion Harland," "Eliza Pelling," "Walter Barrett, clerk," and "Manhatten."

Initials, pure and simple, have never acquired extensive popularity. "L. E. L." and "S. G. O." (Letitia Elizabeth Landon, and Sydney Godolphin Osborne) made good use of them, but they appear to be too vague to be relied upon for identification. A thousand persons may have the same initials, and, besides, they do not distinguish the sex of the owners of them; for L. E. L. may just as well stand for Lewis Edward Lawrence, and S. G. O. for Sarah Georgina Oliver. Hence, the preference for names, fantastic, romantic, and otherwise. In such a case one might say to the author so concealed, "'Tis but thy name which is thine enemy." And, indeed, there might be but too much justice in the application of the amorous Juliet's remark where the pseudonymic holds out expectations of wit or wisdom which are not realized. There comes a time, too, when the public wearies of a name, and that is when it but heralds reiteration of what has gone before; and in this respect some of the popular favorites of the day would do well to be wise in time, and having reaped their harvest of fame and its rewards, take off the mask and let the world see the

man as he is. "Artemus Ward" could not have played the showman for ever, and when "Hans Breitman" comes down from his balloon he will be prudent to rest on his laurels.

If distinguished names will sanction a practice, the use of pseudonyms stands on unimpeachable ground, for some of the most eminent writers have resorted to it. The custom can bring testimony on its own behalf from the 14th century, when "Piers Plowman," by his "Vision" and "Creed," angered the whole body of church and state in England. He was the Junius of his day, save that he wrote in rhyme while the other was content with prose. The author exposed, in allegory, the existing abuses of society, and inculcated the private and public duties of the clergy and the laity. It is generally believed that he was Robert Longland or Langland, a secular priest, and one of the first disciples of Wickliff; but he so well concealed his identity with "Piers Plowman" as to escape the vengeance of those whom he satirized; and in this respect there is parallelism between him and "Junius." In modern times the most eminent writers, male and female, have patronized pseudonyms. It will be sufficient to mention Charles Lamb ("Elia"), Dickens ("Boz"), Proctor ("Barry Cornwall"), Lever ("Harry Lorrequer and "Cornelius O'Dowd"), E. R. Bulwer Lytton ("Owen Meredith"), Rev. R. H. Barham ("Thomas Ingoldsby"), Miss Evans ("George Eliot"), Madame Dudevant ("George Sand"), Sidney Smith ("Peter Plymley"), F. Mahony ("Father Prout"), Professor Wilson ("Christopher North"), Lord Lytton ("Pisistratus Caxton"), and that most prolific of all writers, Samuel G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley"), whose works are sold by the hundred thousand.

It is observable that the use of pseudonyms has been resorted to mainly in those branches of literature wherein the follies and vices of mankind have formed the prominent topic of discussion, as is the case with novels, satires, poetry of the didactic class, and light literature generally. Rarely is it seen in serious works, but it is not uncommon among artists. The late distinguished painter, Daniel Maclise, assumed the name of "Alfred Croquis," which seems to be a m odification of "Alfred Croquill," the pseudonymic of Alfred

H. Forrester, the humorous illustrator of Colburn's Magazine, and of some of the works of Theodore Hook, Dickens, Maginn, "Tom Ingoldsby," "Father Prout," Punch, and the London Illustrated News. The late admirable artist, Robert Seymour, who may be said to have given a physical shape to Dickens' Mr. Samuel Pickwick, seems also to have made use of the name "Alfred Crowquill;" it evidently possesses attractions for artists, since we find three distinguished ones using it. "Phiz" is another pseudonymic in use with the brethren of the humorous pencil.

Among writers of the present day the ruling motive for obtruding themselves before the public is the desire of celebrity, or, at all events, notoriety. To be talked about, interviewed, criticised, fêted, praised, and well paid;—these are the modern stimulants of literature. It is not because a man has something new to say which may amuse or benefit the world, or that he feels within him that divine afflatus which impels him to give utterance to that which is in his thoughts, irrespectively of fame or reward, that he now-a-days rushes into print. Hence the world is flooded with a mass of literature which it is fearful to contemplate. But in the old scholastic days it was not so. In their quiet cloisters and libraries the thinkers and writers of former times studied out great works, which they afterwards gave to the world gratuitously, frequently withholding their own names or assuming fictitious ones. Quite a voluminous history of these men might be written,—noble recluses, who were content to be merely the sowers of knowledge, leaving to those who came after them the reaping of the harvest. In the middle ages no work enjoyed greater popularity than the *Imitatio Christi*. This famous book found its way into thousands of homes and hearts, and was read from one end of Europe to the other. Yet to this day it is uncertain who was the author of it. The world at large attributed it to St. Thomas à Kempis; but it has been contended that it was originally written in French by a person named Gersen, or Gerson, and that Kempis only translated it into Latin. There has been much dispute on this subject, and it sustains our assertion that during the middle ages such works appeared, as it were, gra-

tuitously, and without the object of gaining fame or money thereby.*

It would not be difficult to cite a few more equally remarkable instances of this anonymous authorship. In the 13th century there was a work called "The Nine Rocks," which was in much vogue among the Beghards and the Brethren of free Spirit, who were very numerous in Germany and the Low Countries. In such reverence was this book held by them that it was of almost equal authority with the Bible in their estimation, yet the author of it is entirely unknown. In the following century Henry Suso, a Dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated mystic writers, composed a work concerning the nine rocks, or steps by which the divine man ascended to Deity; but this book is entirely different from that which was in such high esteem among the Beghards. Of the origin of the latter all that is known was discovered in an ancient manuscript composed in Alsace in the 15th century,† wherein occurs the following passage:—"Homo quidam devotissimus, licet laicus, librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesiæ renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione." About the beginning of the 13th century, a number of prophecies purporting to emanate from Joachim, Abbot of Sara, in Calabria, were in circulation. These were contained in a book, called "The Everlasting Gospel,"—also "The Book of Joachim," which was very generally accepted by the austere Franciscans.

There was an introduction to this book, which was the work of another person. The book itself was not condemned, but the introduction was, and burned by order of Pope Alexander IV. Yet it has never been satisfactorily ascertained whether there ever was such a person as Joachim or not, nor who was the author of the introduction. Some say it was John of Parma, general of the Franciscans; some that it was a Franciscan friar, named Gerard. There arose a fierce controversy on this point, a history of which, as well of the "Everlasting Gospel," con-

* The history of this celebrated production is given by Vincentius Thuillierius in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinarti*, vol. 3, p. 54.

† Mosheim *Ecclesiastical History*, part 2, chap. V., s. xii.

tains some curious incidents.* Guillaume de St. Amour, a doctor of the Sarbonne, and a man of genius, fiercely attacked the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and proved from their Everlasting Gospel that "the perilous times that were to come in the last days," predicted by St. Paul, were fulfilled in the establishment of those orders. Pope Alexander IV., ordered St. Amour's works to be burned, and the author to be banished, (A. D. 1256), but in 1632 those of his works which had been saved, were collected and published by Cordesius, who, to avoid the resentment of the mendicants, concealed his real name and assumed that of "Johannes Alitophilus." But the friars obtained an edict from Louis XIII. for its suppression.†

Another remarkable instance of pseudonymous authorship was the spurious history of Don Iñigo de Guipuscoa (renowned as Ignatius Loyola), written in a witty vein by a bookseller at the Hague, named Le Vier, under the assumed name of Hercule Rasiel de Selve.‡ But, in truth, the authenticity of Loyola's writings themselves has been called in question, the greater part of them having been supposed to have been the production of his secretary, John de Palanco. § The Benedictines affirm that Loyola's book of Spiritual Exercises is copied from the work of Cisneros, a Spanish Benedictine monk, and that the *Constitutiones* of the Society of Jesus were probably the work of Lainez and Salmeron, two learned men who were among its first members. ‖ Whoever was their real author, these works and the teachings of the Jesuits gave birth to one of the most famous collections of letters to be found in all literature, viz.: *Les Provinciales, ou Lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un Provincial de ses amis, et aux Jesuites, sur la Morale et le Politique de ces Pères.* Under the name of Louis de Montalte, the cele-

* Boulay, *Historia Academiæ Parisiensis*, vol. 3, p. 292. Echard, *Scriptores Dominicani*, vol. 1, p. 202. Wadding, *Annal. Minor*, vol. 3, p. 213.

† Boulay, *ubi sup.*, vol. 3, p. 266.

‡ *Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes.*

§ Geddes, *Misc. Tracts*, vol. 3. La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme in Ethiopie*, pp. 55, 271.

‖ *Histoire des Religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus*, tom. 1.

brated Pascal published a witty but, at the same time, severe attack upon the Society; and in this he was followed by the Jansenist Doctor Nicole, who, under the fictitious name of Guillaume Wenderock, maintained the arguments of Pascal. These two distinguished pseudonymous works paved the way for the ever-memorable and remarkable Jansenist controversy, which was conducted by the greatest scholars and wits of the 17th and 18th centuries. Perhaps no controversy ever brought forth so many brilliant essays on both sides as this did; many of them were pseudonymous, a few anonymous; but of the former the names of most of the writers are known.

During the period which elapsed between the revival of literature in the 13th century and the middle of the 18th century, religion absorbed by far the greater share of the attention of men. First one excitement, then another, and another followed in rapid succession; the Crusades against the Turks; that against the Albigenses; the spread of the Lollards, Beghards, Hussites, Flagellants, Duobaptists, and other fanatics; the Reformation; the religious wars in Germany and France; the struggles between Catholics and Protestants in England, and between the Episcopalians, Puritans, Independents, Covenanters, Arminians, and others, in that country and Scotland; each and all of these contests in their turn took up public attention, in a great measure to the exclusion of other branches of literature. The wits of the rival political and religious parties were sharpened against each other by motives of ambition, hatred, or revenge, and their writings, especially their anonymous and pseudonymous works, bear testimony to the violence of their passions. No epithets were too scurrilous or vile to be employed. The authors of the "Martin-Marprelate" papers excelled in this kind of abuse, shielding themselves for the nonce behind their *nom de plume*. Their antagonists did the same; but two of them at length grew so furious that they stepped forward *in propriâ personâ*, and virulently attacked each other. These were Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash; and they grew so outrageous that, in 1599, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London issued an order that their books should be taken wherever they could be found, and

not be printed thereafter. The satire indulged in by "Martin Mar-prelate" against episcopalian institutions was carried on subsequently by Swift in his "Tale of a Tub."

Whatever merits or advantages the anonymous or pseudonymic system may have in regard to light literature, it is certain they do not exist in regard to literature of a serious cast. The anonymous system would be fatal to works on science or history, or on any subject whereon the public requires to be assured that the person producing the book knows what he is writing about. The chief value of such works depends upon the learning, research, and credibility of the author personally. Take, for instance, the two histories of England, one by Hume, the other by Lingard, wherein both profess to deal with the same facts, yet both produce different impressions on their readers. The one is manifestly hostile not only to the Church but to the Christian religion, and omits no opportunity of "sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer"—while the other is the avowed champion of the Catholic Church. This being so, we take up Hume to ascertain what Hume's own sentiments were upon any given point, quite as much as to learn what the facts were. And we take up Lingard to ascertain in what light the Catholics view them. Had both histories been anonymous or pseudonymous, so that it had been impossible to discover their authors, what would have been their value? The answer is evident. Their narratives would have partaken of the character of historical romances, with about as much credibility. This reminds us of what a learned friend once said about history generally. "Since no two persons tell the same story alike, and since, if two persons witness the same occurrence, they will describe it as it appeared to them where they stood, and will differ from each other perhaps in very important particulars, so history, or what passes for it, is the result of conflicting testimony, and is not much more trustworthy than a romance. If you want genuine history read Thackeray's 'Vanity Fair;" if you want an entertaining romance read Macaulay's History of England."

The satire is not wholly undeserved, but it confirms the assertion that the value of a work depends mainly on the character of its author. His name may even operate as a safeguard against

the invasion of our libraries by ribaldry and profanity. Thus, when we see the name of Thomas Paine on a title page, we know beforehand what to expect. Had he published the "Age of Reason and the "Rights of Man" anonymously, they would probably have found their way into places from which the mere name of their author excluded them; but he had that insatiable ambition for notoriety which impels men to commit the gravest violations of decorum in order to obtain it, and so he defeated the influence for evil which he had acquired. But in regard to works designed to instruct and improve the race, anonymous publication will not add to their reputation. Let their excellencies be what they may, if they be not based on a substratum of *responsibility* for truth and genuineness, the work cannot stand. It is like a house built upon the sand. One of the most extraordinary instances of this occurred at the beginning of the last century. In the year 1704, there appeared in London, a work purporting to be a historical and geographical description of the Island of Formosa, written in Latin, by a person calling himself George Psalmanazar, who palmed himself off as a native of that island. This work was translated into English, as it went through the press, by a friend, Psalmanazar pretending to be unable to do it. The book was so plausibly and learnedly written, that everybody was imposed upon. In addition to this, Psalmanazar invented what he called the Formosan language, "a language sufficiently original, copious, and regular to impose upon men of very extensive learning."* Bishop Compton was so completely taken in by it that he persuaded Psalmanazar to translate the church catechism into this pretended tongue. The genuineness of his work on Formosa having been called in question by a learned Frenchman, M. Amalvy de Sluice, Psalmanazar published a vindication of it both in English and French, in 1705, and for a time he enjoyed the highest reputation for veracity, learning, and genius.

The fastidious Horace Walpole thought the genius of Psalmanazar surpassed that of the gifted Chatterton.† And Dr.

---

* Richardson, *Dissertation on the Languages of the East*, p. 237.

† *Letter to the Rev. Wm. Mason*, Feb'y 17, 1777. *Letters*, Ed. 1861, vi., 412.

Johnson greatly enjoyed Psalmanazar's society, indulging himself at night with literary and theological conversation with him at an ale house.* "The Colossus of Literature" avowed that "he would as soon think of contradicting a bishop as Psalmanazar."† Yet with all this genius and with all this homage, the man was an impostor, but he had the honesty to acknowledge it, and when the "Complete System of Geography" was published (in 1747, forty-three years after the appearance of his work on Formosa) he contributed to it a true account of the island, as a reparation for the falsehoods he had previously gulled the world with. The once famed "Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa" is now a mere literary curiosity. While we are on this subject we may remark that the name of George Psalmanazar was an assumed one, and though this extraordinary man became a penitent, and lived and died in the odor of sanctity, honored by the friendship of the leading literary men of the day, such as Dr. Johnson, Horace Walpole, Boswell, Malone, Mason, Bishop Compton, Rev. W. Innes, and others, his real name was never ascertained, nor was it ever certainly known whence he came. The mystery will now probably never be cleared up.

Many years ago, John Galt, a querulous cotemporary of Sir Walter Scott, and the author of some now forgotten novels, demanded not only that publishers and printers should be responsible for what they publish and print, but that all authors should be compelled by law to give their names and addresses to every work, great or small, in which others were concerned, so that the world might know what degree of credit was due to statements that would otherwise be anonymous. Galt was one of those unfortunate authors who "met with more kicks than half-pence;" he was in his own estimation "an unsuccessful great man;" but he was "neither born great, nor achieved greatness, nor had it thrust upon him." The reviewers of his day were very severe upon him, and he was very

---

* Lord Macaulay in *Encyclo. Brit.* 8th ed., XII., 1856, tit. "Samuel Johnson."

† Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, vol. 2, p. 177, Croker's Ed.

anxious to drag them to light. He had a pretty fair aversion to writers in the daily papers, because they were in the habit of committing gross libels under the shelter of their anonymous contributions. "Without breaking any rule of charity, it may be assumed," he says,* "that the editors of the daily newspapers are prone to this offence [libelling]; we do not say that they are naturally more so than the generality of men, but by the rule by which offences are estimated, viz.: the number of convictions in proportion to the whole number of the accused, we say this body of persons is, so far as libels are criminal, culprits in the greatest degree." Next in guilt to them are the editors of weekly periodicals, for they have more time to enquire into the truth of what they assert, and to meditate over what they propose to state. But if these be guilty, what must the editors of monthly and trimestrial periodicals be in Galt's estimation? The indignation of the writer could go no further, but he made a mistake in commencing with the superlative, following Milton's example who spoke of there being "even in the lowest deep a lower still."

There are one or two observations to be made respecting anonymous reviewing which may not be out of place. If the critic's learning be greater or more correct than the author's, would it be well for the former to couch his animadversions in such a way as to *make* the latter listen to him? In other words, would he do right in appearing *in propriâ personâ*, and using the first personal pronoun in the singular instead of in the plural? The answer to this question must depend on a variety of circumstances. First of all, the nature of the criticized work is to be taken into consideration. In matters of abstract reasoning, a reviewer may be anonymous with great propriety; he has then not to do with men but with understandings, and he offers for reflection thoughts and inferences which are either true or false; but in such a case there is no reason why the author should be treated with contumely. If the reviewer be ironical, he need not quit the matter of the book, and turn upon the author. This, to say the least, is

* *Essay on Anonymous Publications.* Fraser's Magazine, vol. xi., May, 1835.

bad taste, and the disposition to indulge in it will prevent a critic from giving a true estimate of the work in question. Another consideration is the relative literary standing of author and reviewer. When Pope sits in judgment on the Dunces of his day, the world listens with attention and acknowledges his qualification to do so; but when the Dunces sit in judgment on Pope, the world laughs at their presumption. An author has a right to expect that the man who reviews his book shall be qualified for the task, and he has also a right to be angry when an unqualified critic dismisses the work by saying in Sir Charles Coldstream's words, "there is nothing in it." Here the anonymous system is seen to advantage; the author must content himself with reviling the periodical if he cannot find out the writer of the article.

Here is an instance of the danger of screening one's self too much under the anonymous. The late Dr. Maginn of *Noctes Ambrosianæ* memory, was the author of a very severe review, in Fraser's Magazine, of a novel, called "Berkeley Castle," written by Mr. Grantley Berkeley. In this article the critic indulged in some very gross personalities respecting the author and his family, which so exasperated Mr. G. Berkeley that without taking the trouble to find out who the writer was, he went to Mr. Fraser's office and horsewhipped the unfortunate proprietor of the magazine so severely that he never entirely recovered from the effects of the attack. Dr. Maginn, deeply hurt at the suffering to which Mr. Fraser had been subjected, came forward and avowed himself the author of the article in question. Thereupon Mr. Berkeley challenged Maginn, and a duel was fought, which, however, proved harmless to both parties, although three shots were exchanged. In an action at law for the assault, all that the unfortunate Fraser recovered in the shape of damages was £100! so little sympathy did anonymous editing meet with at this time from a London jury. This affair happened in August 1836, but since that time many cases have occurred wherein the feeling against the system of attacking the private character of a person through the medium of a newspaper or periodical has been much more strongly displayed. Fraser's magazine acquired an unfortunate notoriety

in this respect. In it Bulwer was constantly attacked, his principal enemies being Maginn and Thackeray. They indulged in gross personalities against him; but if Bulwer knew who his assailants were, he did not retaliate upon them. It is strange that Thackeray should afterwards have avowed his share in these anonymous attacks, and attempted to justify them by saying that when he sneered at Bulwer *he did not know him*, as if the circumstance of not being acquainted with a man was an excuse for abusing him! *

Perhaps one of the best apologies for pseudonymous writing is that of Charlotte Brontë (Mrs. Nicholls), who, with her sisters, Anne and Emily, published their novels under the names of "Currer Bell," "Acton Bell," and "Ellis Bell." She says†:—"Averse to personal publicity, we veiled our names under those of Currer, Acton, and Ellis Bell, the ambiguous choice being dictated by a sort of conscientious scruple at assuming Christian names positively masculine, while we did not like to declare ourselves women, because—without at that time suspecting that our mode of thinking and writing was not what is called feminine—we had a vague impression that authoresses are likely to be looked on with prejudice: we had noticed how critics sometimes used for their chastisement the weapon of personality, and for their reward a flattery that was not true praise." Miss C. Brontë wrote thus in 1848, when distinguished women like Miss Martineau, Lady Morgan, Lady Blessington, Mrs. Browning and Mrs. Somerville were in their prime. But since that time ladies have vindicated for themselves such a position in literature, that they may almost be called masters (or mistresses), of the situation, especially in that department of it in which Miss Brontë shone. Their name is, literally, legion; and several of them have resorted to the use of pseudonyms, though whether for the reasons assigned by the authoress of *Jane Eyre*, or not, we cannot say. The names of "George Sand" (Madame Dudevant), "George Eliot" (Miss Mary

* *The Fraserian Papers of the late William Maginn*, by R. Shelton Mackenzie, p. 59.

† Biographical notice, by "Currer Bell."

Evans), "F. G. Trafford" (Mrs. Riddle), "Silverpen" (Miss Eliza Meteyard), "Ouida" (Miss de la Ramée), "Fanny Fern" (Mrs. Parton), "Grace Greenwood" (Mrs. S. J. Lippincott), and "Marion Harland" (Mrs. Terhune) will readily occur to the memory. Many others first appeared before the public anonymously, being unwilling to risk the discredit attendant upon non-success, should such be the result of their labors, and they have since been content to adopt the title of "Author of," (the work which gave them their reputation),—as "the Author of Margaret Maitland"—leaving the outside world in ignorance of their identity, and remaining happy in their modest retirement and consciousness of power. Some have retained this *incognito* to the last: Mrs. Byrne and Mrs. Tonna, once popular poetesses, are now remembered solely by their pseudonyms of "Rosa Matilda," and "Charlotte Elizabeth."

It is fortunate for anonymous and pseudonymous writers that there is no great moralist of the present day like old Dr. Samuel Johnson to berate them. The moral aspect of the subject has seldom been considered. The assuming of a fictitious name is a violation of truth. Neither of these infringements of the moral law may be very serious: in fact they may be in their consequences harmless and inconsequential. But they are, nevertheless, departures from the strict letter of the truth, and according to Johnson, truth should never be violated, because it is of the utmost importance to the comfort of life that we should have a full security by mutual faith; and occasional inconveniences should be willingly suffered that we may preserve it.* Johnson's biographer, indeed, went further than Johnson himself, for he held that truth, as an eternal and immutable principle, ought upon no account whatever to be violated, from supposed previous or superior obligations, of which every man being to judge for himself, there is great danger that we too often, from partial motives, persuade ourselves that they exist. Johnson admitted that there might be exceptions to the general rule, but then they must only be such as are dictated by necessity. Now, if this law of exception be

* Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii, p. 388, Croker's Edition.

admitted, how shall anonymous or pseudonymous writings escape condemnation, since there can scarcely arise a case in which they are absolutely necessary? But whatever the stern moralist may say of them, we are willing to concede that a name is as legitimate a subject for fiction as a story is, and that pseudonyms may lawfully be used in every case where no fraud is intended. A man may adopt another name besides his own in the way of business, provided he has no evil design in so doing, and if he may do this in the ordinary affairs of life, he may surely do it in matters where nothing but his imagination or his literary reputation is at stake. There are some who condemn fiction of every kind, but while respecting those who conscientiously do so, we cannot but remember that the earliest lessons were given to mankind in parables, and that fables have been universally popular so far back as history carries us.

Another question propounded by moralists has been whether a man is bound to disclose whether he is the author of an anonymous or pseudonymous work, when he is directly asked the question. Sir Walter Scott drew upon himself some condemnation—not very severe, it is true—for evading the question whether he was the author of *Waverley*. Sir Philip Francis did the same as regards the authorship of *Junius*. On one occasion, Boswell put the question to Johnson;*—"Supposing the person who wrote Junius were asked whether he was the author, might he deny it?" Johnson replied, "I don't know what to say to this. If you were sure that he wrote Junius, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged that what a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate, and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, and an important secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a flat denial; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or evade, it will be held equivalent to a confession." Here, then, is a case wherein "a white lie" may be perpetrated. Such a question may be answered as an unwelcome visitor is sometimes,—with a "not at home;"—or as a sick man asks if he is going to die, when to tell him the truth would be fatal

* Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 388, Croker's Edition.

to him. There is yet another question for the moralists. Suppose an author tells us confidentially that he has written a certain work, and we are asked if he has done so, should we be justified in denying it? It is evident that we are under a previous promise, express or implied, to conceal the fact, and having made it we are bound to keep it, for it is the author's secret, not ours, that we hold in our possession, and *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum*, should be our motto. It is mean to betray a secret but it is quite as much so to claim credit for what does not belong to us.

One of the most contemptible cases of this kind in the annals of anonymous literature occurred in reference to the beautiful and popular poem of *The Burial of Sir John Moore*. This was published anonymously in an Irish newspaper in 1817, and was ascribed to various authors. The real author, the Rev. Charles Wolfe, died in 1823, but he did not avow his authorship of the poem before his death. In 1841, it was claimed by a Scottish student and teacher, who ungenerously and most dishonestly sought to win all the credit for himself. The friends of Wolfe, however, came forward and established his right beyond all controversy, and the new claimant was forced to confess his imposture, at the same time expressing contrition for his misconduct. That man could never appear again in print except anonymously or under a feigned name; and it is melancholy to think that he could have been induced to commit such an offence for the sake of literary celebrity. In short, when it is borne in mind that as a rule anonymous writings pass into obscurity and oblivion, it seems wonderful that so many as 17,000 persons—and we know not how many more—should have wasted their brains to so little purpose.

The explanation is, that the greatest thinkers are often those who care least about fame. It was because Homer was thus indifferent to it, if he did not absolutely shrink from it, that the world knows so little about the authorship of the greatest poems ever written. The wish to benefit or delight mankind is a far nobler incentive to write and publish than the mere love of fame; and it must, therefore, be regarded as honorable to humanity that there have been so many men and women magnanimous enough to "do good by stealth."

ART. IV.—1. *The Russians in Central Asia*, by JOHN AND ROBERT MICHELL. London, 1865.

2. *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Civilization en Russie.* Par NICOLAS de GEREBTZOFF. 2 vols. Paris, 1858.

3. *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor*, by THOS. WM. ATKINSON. London, 1860.

4. *Geschichte der russischen Staates*, von Dr. ERNST HERRMANN, ausserordentl. Professor an der Universität zu Jena. (*History of the State of Russia*, by Dr. ERNST HERMANN, extraordinary Professor in the University of Jena.) 4 vols. Hamburg, 1849.

5. *Siberian Overland Route from Peking to St. Petersburg*, by ALEXANDER MICHIE. London, 1864.

6. *Russland unter Alexander II. Nicholajewitsch. Zur innern Geschichte und äussern Politik von Thronwechsel bis auf die Gezenwart.* (*Russia under Alexander II. The secret History and declared Policy, from the change of Dynasty to the present time*) 4 vols. Hamburg, 1849.

7. *Russians on the Amur*, by E. G. RAVENSTEIN. London, 1861.

STRONGLY interested as we have been of late years with the thrilling events occurring in our own country and in Europe, we have had little leisure and less care to follow up political movements in a continent so remote and mysterious as Asia. Hints of Russian advances in northern and central Asia have from time to time reached us, but the general public is too little acquainted with the geography of this region to attach to these movements their full importance, or to realize the significance of these diverse operations. In fact, the whole history of the Russian movement in Asia is little known, and, in reviewing it, a hasty description of its early phases will be a necessary introduction to an outline of its modern progress.

It is now three hundred years since the foot of Russia was first planted on Asiatic soil, during all which time she has per-

sistently carried forward her plans of conquest and occupation, though it is only within the last twenty years that this quiet process has developed into active and successful aggression. Before the commencement of this movement, however, we have the parallel one of the occupation of Russia by the Asiatics, the Tartars of the Golden Horde established themselves as firmly there as the Arabs did in Spain, and were only driven out by as determined and long continued efforts. Czar Ivan, at the beginning of the 16th century, imagined and began a grand Tartar kingdom, and took the first step towards its accomplishment in the conquest of the established Tartar governments of Kazan and Astrakan, near the western borders of the Caspian. Yet, although this laid Asia open to Russian inspection, an unaccountable ignorance of the vast region which lay beyond the Ural mountains prevailed, contests with the Mongols and internal dissensions fully occupying the attention of the government.

In the year 1580, a Cossack named Yermak, chief of a band of robbers, being outlawed for some of his predatory adventures in Europe, "found his way with some 200 adventurers across the Ural. After pillaging the Tartars for some time his handful of robbers became so wasted with constant fighting, that they could no longer maintain themselves. It then occurred to Yermak to return to Moscow, announce his discoveries, and make peace with the Czar. The robber was promoted to the rank of a hero, and was appointed to command an expedition for the conquest of Siberia. Yermak first crossed the Ural in 1580, and in 1660 nearly all the Siberian tribes were subdued by Russia."*

The Cossacks, conquered by Russia about the middle of the 15th century, have served ever since as the Russian military pioneers, and formed the material of this first movement into Asia. The progress of conquest and occupation was remarkably rapid. In 1639 the pioneers of the movement stood on the shores of the sea of Okhotsk, having in about 50 years traversed and taken possession of the whole vast width of

* Overland Route, page 312.

Siberia, and established many thriving settlements, which yet remain the centres of Siberian population. In these early movements, while some of the adventurers penetrated the country beyond Lake Baikal to the north-east, emerging on the shores of the sea of Okhotsk, others moved eastwardly. Each party found its enterprise repaid by the abundance of fur-bearing animals. The latter line of advance culminated in 1643 in the discovery of the Amoor river, by a party of Cossack hunters, who embarked upon this magnificent stream and descended to the Pacific ocean. Their report of their success and of the wealth of the country they had traversed, induced the government to attempt settlements in this region. In 1650 an officer named Khabaroff was despatched with a body of Cossacks to select and fortify a position. He chose a site at Albazin, 103 miles from the junction of the Argoun and the Schilka, the two main tributaries of the Amoor. Numerous hunters followed the Cossack advance and settled at Albazin, forming a considerable town. They immediately began to oppress the natives, driving them from their hunting grounds, and otherwise ill-treating them.

The settlement, becoming reinforced by numbers of those desperate characters who always seek the license of frontier stations, became daring in its aggressions. The Amoor was crossed and the Chinese villages to the south plundered, regardless of the remonstrances of the Chinese authorities. As animals became scarce the inhabitants took to plundering the tribes for many miles round their settlement. Khabaroff displayed the boldest daring in his depredations upon the Chinese, and organized boat raids down the Soungaria into the heart of Manjouria, levying black-mail from the populous districts bordering on this river.

In 1652 he was attacked by a large Chinese army in a fort he had built to support these aggressions, and though making a desperate resistance, was finally forced to retreat. In 1658 the Russians received another check, when Stepanoff, another marauder, who made savage excursions down the Soungaria, was surrounded by a fleet of Chinese war boats, and his whole party killed or captured.

In 1657 a Chinese army attacked Albazin, erecting batteries, on an island in the river fronting it. The Russians made a determined resistance for nearly two years, but were finally compelled to abandon the fort. The Chinese contented themselves with destroying the works, the post being reoccupied in 1665, by a party of hunters, and the fort rebuilt in 1670. The town grew rapidly, awaking the jealousy of the Chinese, who, in 1685, attacked it with a large force, occupying their former position. The fort was taken and burnt, but was almost immediately reoccupied by the Russians. For two years more the siege continued with varying success, the Russians finally retiring in 1688. The next year a treaty was made with the Chinese, forcing Russia to yield all her Manjour settlements, and making the junction of the Argoun and the Schilka the definite boundary of Russian Siberia.

From this period until the year 1854, Russia remained stationary in this region, and nothing was known of that beyond the boundary line, save what was learned from adventurous hunters, and from the return of escaped convicts.* In the year 1848 an officer with four Cossacks was sent down the river to make observations. They never returned, and their fate remains a mystery to this day, though every possible effort was made to learn if they had been taken and held prisoners by the Chinese.

General Muravief, the Governor General of Eastern Siberia, finally determined to make a forcible exploration of the river. His ostensible object was the provisioning of the Russian settlements on the Pacific, which were threatened by the English and French war vessels during the Crimean war. He accordingly prepared a strong expedition, which, without asking privilege from the Chinese, sailed in 1854 down the Amoor. The rapid success of this invasion is in strange contrast with the futile efforts of two centuries before. It was made, how-

* Meanwhile a great change had been developed in Russia, which paved the way for a more advanced policy. De là un type nouveau, le type du grand seigneur russe resté Muscovite au fond de l'âme mais façonné au dehors à la française, connaissant toutes les delicatesses de lavie civilisée, &c." *Histoire Intime de la Russie sous les Empereurs Alexandre* 1*er et Nicolas.*

ever, in such force, that the Chinese authorities were quite unable to check its course, and in less than six weeks the whole of the vast region north of the Amoor, was quietly annexed, by taking possession of the north bank of the river. No forts were built until 1857, the Russians meanwhile confining themselves to aiding in the coast war. In that year, however, it was secured so strongly by military stations, that the whole Chinese army would have proved powerless to dislodge its new owners.

The close of the Crimean war gave Russia full liberty to prosecute her designs in these quarters, and shrewd advantage was taken of the French and English war with China to secure from the latter a treaty, ceding all this region to Russia, together with the whole coast region of Manjouria, a district invaluable to the Russians.*

Possession was also obtained of the northern half of the island of Saghalien, and in June, 1861, an important island in the Straits of Corea was seized. A late report is to the effect that Russia has forcibly occupied the remainder of Saghalien, driving out the Japanese garrisons, and coolly annexed the island. These acquisitions give the Muscovite government a very important Pacific coast line, extending from 35° N. L. to the Arctic Ocean. This secures to Russia a most powerful influence in the future of the Pacific and of the Asiatic coast regions, of which she will, no doubt, make vigorous use.

She is extending her influence rapidly into the border regions of the Chinese empire. At Urga, a station in the heart of Mongolia, 175 miles south of Kiachta, the Russian border city, the Muscovite consul keeps up a body guard of 20 Cossacks, with as many more mechanics and others. At this desert station "the object of such an expensive establishment can only be divined by the light of the traditional Russian policy in Asia. It has long been considered that the Khingan chain of

* "Erst jetst erfahr man es beinahe, dass Russland, während es auf dem orientalischen kriegesschauplaze alle seine kräfte concenirirt zu haben glaubte, in Herzen Asiens seinem natürlichen Rivalen, England, siegreich näher gerücht war." "About this time it was first learned that Russia, while believed to have concentrated her whole power upon the oriental field of war, was declared nearly victorious over her natural rival, England, in the heart of Asia."

mountains, running east and west past Urga to the head waters of the Amoor, form the natural boundary of Siberia. Advantage has been taken of dissensions between Mongol khans and Russian merchants to gain a foothold, which will certainly never be relinquished till the whole tract of country has been annexed. Afterwards the natural boundary will be discovered to lie still further to the south.* Russia is in no hurry to enter into possession, but the country has been surveyed, and is included in maps of Eastern Siberia.†

It must not be imagined that these acquisitions are barren or unimportant. A country of the vast dimensions of Siberia cannot fail to be valuable in many particulars, even if as barren as the desert steppes to the south. Its product is, in fact, of the most diversified and important character. A prodigious number of fur-bearing animals gives value to the icy regions to the north, and to the southern mountain regions. Much of the soil of Siberia is highly fertile, and the agricultural possibilities of the country incalculable. The fertile steppes in the governments of Tomsk and Tobolsk form the great granaries of Russia and northern Europe. The great rivers and numerous lakes of the country abound with valuable fish. Large forests of useful timber are found in all portions of the country. The great rivers of Siberia are of little value as water-ways from having their outlets in the frozen ocean. The Amoor however, fortunately flows east, and thus forms a navigable stream of more than 2,200 miles in length, from central Siberia to the Pacific. This great stream, with its hundreds of tributaries, its endurable climate, the agricultural value of its soil, its extensive woodland, the abundant animal life on its banks, and the innumerable fish in its waters, forms the most valuable section of the country, and is probably destined to a rapid growth in population. Atkinson says of the Zeya, one of its affluents:

---

* "Si l'on veut avoir une idée de la difficulté de la guerre que la civilisation y livre à l'état d'indépendence sauvage de cette contrée, il faut se rappeler d'abord un fait historique bien connu, la difficulté que de tous temps les peuples montagnards ont opposée à la conquete."—*Letires sur le Caucase.*

† Siberian Overland Route.

"The lower and middle regions are capable of sustaining a great population with vast hordes of horses and cattle, while the upper valleys are clothed with innumerable forests, abounding in wild animals, and here the hunter obtains valuable skins."*

The mineral wealth of Siberia is immense, and of the most varied character. Important iron mines are worked in the Ural region, as also mines of platinum. This region yields many precious stones, among them the diamond. Gold, silver, copper, and lead are also abundantly found. Splendid emeralds, amethysts, and topaz are found in various portions of the country. Malachite is abundant and beautiful, as also porphyry and jasper, all of which are worked into magnificent vases, tables, and other ornamental forms.

Such is an imperfect glance at the useful resources of this vast region, whose population is rapidly increasing and its natural wealth being vigorously developed under the stimulus of Russian enterprise. It is already traversed by the telegraph; and lines of railroad are talked of, which will prove of the utmost importance as outlets for the production of the country, and as opening a ready channel to the Chinese trade, already of considerable value. The occupation of Manjouria by the Russians is proving to the advantage of both parties, they having inaugurated a humane system of dealing with the natives, who, under Chinese rule, were treated with terrible severity, and reduced to a state of virtual slavery.

But the Russian advance is not only westward but southward. The immense region traversed by the Kirgheez nomads, desert as it is in great part, yet gives subsistence to great numbers of men, and to vast herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, the property of these wandering tribes. It thus has its value in the Muscovite plan of extension, and Russia has been for years quietly taking possession of it, till now her control over the natives is almost supreme.

The movement has been made by the gradual extension of military posts to the south of Siberia, and by cajoling the natives of the steppes until sufficiently strong to defy them.

---

* Travels, p. 440.

One of the earliest formed and most important of these posts is Ayagus, a town and fortress about 200 miles from the border, with which it is connected by a line of piquets about 15 miles apart, serving as a guard against the marauding nomads. This town has a strong garrison and several civil officials appointed to deal with the neighboring tribes.

The Sessedatal, or chief magistrate has officers residing among the different tribes, who lose no opportunity of extending the Russian power. The chief is courted, paid, and some mark of distinction is given him, perhaps a medal, a sabre, or a gold-laced coat, or cocked hat, with the privilege of attending a council at Ayagus once a year, where laws are made to govern the tribes, that rivet still faster the fetters with which he and his people are being bound. A young Russian, who understands his language, is appointed to reside with him, to translate official papers sent him and write answers, to which he attaches his seal without understanding a word they contain. The youth is also a spy, reporting regularly to his chief at Ayagus. Thus the power of the emperor is quietly and gradually creeping on into the plains of Central Asia, and when it is sufficiently secured, the nomads will have to pay both in men and money.*

When the silver and lead mines of eastern Siberia were stopped during the formation of the Amoor expedition, a party was sent into the mountain regions of the steppes to prospect for these minerals. The result was the finding of rich silver and lead deposits in a district far beyond the Russian border. All their diplomatic cunning was needed in negotiations with the Kirgheez for this territory. The ore appeared to the nomads but ordinary rock. They had no particular objection, therefore, to part with the hill region, but strongly objected to part with a small river which ran past the foot of the hills, and was of more real value to them than mountains of silver. This stream was necessary to Russian mining operations. By cunningly investing the sultan with a gold-laced coat and a medal, and his chiefs in rich array, a great change came over his views, "and when a Cossack buckled a sabre on his waist, this settled the point. He would have given half the rivers in the steppe sooner than be stripped of his weapons and finery. Thus for a sum of about £150 his imperial majesty acquired

* Atkinson's Travels, p. 34.

mines and a freehold property in the Kirgheez steppes which will, I have no doubt, expand rapidly towards all points of the compass. These mines are of immense value."*

The next advance southward was in the building of a fort on the Kopal, a point considerably to the south of the former station, and near the Chinese frontier. This was a fearfully barren and exposed situation, subject to *bourans*, or gales of wind and snow, which sweep down the defiles of the mountains with terrific fury. It was chosen by some wise political generals, who marched on until the barrenness of the country forbade further advance, and there marked a position for the fort, and hurried back to the luxuries of civilization. Seven hundred families of Cossacks were beguiled there, under the delusion that it was a rich and genial country. Great numbers of these were carried off by a virulent sickness that broke out in consequence of the hardships of the first winter. Yet, despite this, the position was maintained, and has grown with wonderful rapidity into a town numbering over 11,000 inhabitants. An attack on it by a strong force of Kirgheez, in its younger days, was repulsed by a terrible volley of artillery, since which they have not ventured to disturb the Russian occupation.

A station 200 miles further to the southwest is the new town of Vernoje. It was founded by a colony from Kopal, and is now rapidly growing. Numerous other forts arise on the desert frontier of Russia, and the ruins of old forts which have served a similar purpose of bringing the Asiatic tribes under Russian sway are frequent in Siberia, having been abandoned as the country became subdued. This same process will be repeated in these southern regions. Atkinson says, "Russia is thus surrounding the Kirgheez hordes with civilization which will ultimately bring about a moral revolution in this country. Agriculture and other branches of industry will be introduced by the Russian peasant, than whom no man can better adapt himself to circumstances."†

---

* Atkinson's Travels, p. 80.

† Travels, p. 289. "A Stavropol commence la ligne des postes fortifiés qui constitue le système militaire le mieux organisé dans une contrée qu'il faut surveiller sans cesse, le jour comme la nuit."—*Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée.*

The mountain region to the south of Lake Balkash has already, at some unknown period sustained a very numerous agricultural population, as is evidenced by the remains of ancient canals, and by the huge tumuli and widespread cemeteries remaining. Michie tells us in reference to these Russian aggressions:

"The Cossacks at Russian stations make raids on their own account on the Kirgheez, and subject them to rough treatment. An outbreak occurs which it requires a military force to subdue. An expedition for this purpose is sent every year to the Kirgheez steppes. The Russian outposts are pushed further and further south, more disturbances occur, and so the front is year by year extended, on pretence of keeping peace. This has been the system pursued by the Russian government in all its aggressions in Asia."*

"Russia has exercised great prudence in her treatment of the nomads. She has always respected their religions and superstitions, and no priests have accompanied the Cossacks. She has thus avoided many difficulties which other powers have fallen into, where soldier and missionary have marched together. From my knowledge of these people, I believe it is impossible to make converts among them. The Asiatics are descended from a race of conquerors, and their traditions extend back into remote ages. Robbers they are, but neither pilferers nor pickpockets. Great hospitality and a wild spirit of chivalry still exist among them."†

The Russian government has lately established schools among the nomads, and the children are being taught to read and write, a circumstance which, if continued, will have a most powerful influence on the future of these Asiatic tribes. Far, however, from interfering with their religion, their new rulers have brought Tartar Mullahs into the steppes, who are producing bigotry where formerly great tolerance prevailed. This strange proceeding may be intended to conciliate the fanatical Musselmans to the South. The occupation of the steppes is, however, but a trifling advance towards the fulfilment of a purpose of far more importance in the scheme of Russian

* Overland Route, p. 300: "Exécuter un coup hardi, emmener du bétail qui est gardé, enlever quelques hommes, des femmes et des enfants, faire du butin, le tout au péril de sa vie, est pour le Tchetcheuse surtout l'ideal d'un exploit."—*Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée.*

† Atkinson's Travels, p. 150.

dominion. This is the conquest of the central Asiatic governments, which has been in great measure accomplished during the last ten years.

Central Asia, or Toorkistan, is in great part a desert, its nomad inhabitants being fiercer and more warlike than the Kirghees.* This desert region, however, contains three great oases, with several smaller ones, in which the soil is of the highest fertility. Abundant harvests of grain are produced, and the most delicious fruits, while several manufacturing interests give employment to the town populations. Each oasis has its distinct government, forming the Khanats of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan, which are ruled with the most absolute tyranny. Their principal cities, Khiva, Bokhara, Samarcand, etc., large as they appear in the mirage of Oriental exaggeration, are described by Vambery as chiefly mud-built towns, far below the Persian cities in character, which, in turn, are immeasurably below the grade of a European city. They are watered by the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Amoo and Syr Daria, which traverse their whole area, the waters of the former being employed to so great an extent in agricultural irrigation as to render it unnavigable in certain seasons of the year.

Khiva, the most westerly of these Khanats, has the Caspian sea for its western, the Sea of Aral for its northern boundary. The Amoo Daria traverses it and Bokhara, which lies to the east. Kokan lies to the northeast of the latter country. It is an extensive fertile region, watered by the Syr Daria, and by several other important streams, and has, like the other sections a nomad and a settled population. The Toorkoman tribes of the desert are in the habit of diversifying their pastoral labors by piratical excursions on the Caspian, and by raid into Persia, whence they annually bring large numbers of captives, who are sold into slavery to the neighboring oasis.

---

* La célébrité d'un Erostrate y est devenue impossible. Il n'y a plus que des hommes à y tuer. On y va pour se disputer la possession du sol, comme autrefois et naguère encore, les Européens allaient se disputes les terres lointaines de nouveaux continents."—*La Coté Religieux de la Question d'Orient.* Par le Comte de Ficquelmont.

Toorkistan is the head quarters of Islamism, its inhabitants displaying a fanaticism and a fierce intolerance of other creeds which renders the life of an European not worth an hour's purchase throughout the whole region. This is the principal cause of the mystery so long surrounding it. Vambery, in his travels in this region, was in constant danger, though he had spent years in perfecting himself in the language and in the habits of a dervish, and though he travelled in all the rags and discomfort of the most bigoted fanatic.

The advances of Russia in this direction date as far back as 1602. In this year the Cossacks took the city of Khiva, but were attacked and defeated in their return across the desert. Again in 1703, during the reign of Peter the Great, the Khan of Khiva placed his dominions under Russian rule. The gradual conquest of the nomads of the district of Orenburg opened a path for Russia to the Sea of Aral, on which she firmly established herself. Khiva continued friendly until the commencement of the present century, when a change took place in the ruling family, since which period the Khivans have been bitterly hostile.

In 1835 a post on the eastern shore of the Caspian was seized and a fort built, which, in connection with several armed steamers, has been of the utmost importance in repressing the Toorkoman pirates, who used this inland sea as an avenue of incursion into Persia. In 1839 war broke out with Khiva, and a Russian expedition was sent into the latter country. It proved unsuccessful, except in frightening the Khan into the release of some four hundred Russian prisoners whom he held.

But the most available avenue of action for Russia was by the rivers traversing these regions, the desert proving a dangerous feature in land expeditions. As both of these run into the Aral it was necessary to make this her principal centre of operation. The Amoo Daria, however, despite its more favorable position, as running through the centre of Khiva and Bokhara, is not safely navigable, being full of shifting sand-banks. Hence the Syr became the most desirable channel of operation, it being navigable for a long

distance from its mouth. A great part of the lower course of this river is through a vast desert region, only relieved by the narrow belt of fertile soil on each side of the stream. It thus affords the only safe avenue to Kokan, and thence to the other Khanats, all other routes being over dangerous deserts.

The Kokanians, as if aware of this fact, began, about the beginning of the present century, to extend their dominion westwardly; building several forts along the river, of which the principal, Ak-Mechet, was erected about 1817. It was used as a means of extorting tribute from the Kirgheez tribes, who resorted to the river to pass the winter, and who suffered severely from the rapacity of their oppressors.

The modern advance of Russia into Central Asia must be dated from 1835, in which year a fort was erected on the eastern shore of the Caspian, for the purpose of suppressing piracies. Her hostile appearance on the Sea of Aral dates from 1847. Michell says, that "In order to make the influence of Russia felt by the Khanats of Central Asia, and for the protection of the Kirgheezes subject to Russia, who roamed on the Syr Daria, it was necessary that she should predominate without a rival on the Sea of Aral, and at the mouth of the Syr."*

In consequence, a fortification was built, in the year 1847, near the mouth of the river, which received the name of Fort Aralsk. This proceeding excited the hostility of the Khivans, who had also erected forts on the south bank of the stream. In August a body of 2,000 Khivans fell on the Russian Kirgheezes, taking great numbers of prisoners. The first encounter with the Russians was in consequence of this event, the marauders being defeated and the prisoners released. During the succeeding year there were several such incursions, in which the nomads suffered severely. But, being compelled to fly from each encounter with the Russians, the Khivans, at length, realized their own weakness, and confined themselves to demanding the demolition of the Russian forts.

In the commencement of this occupation, Russia had launched two vessels upon the Sea of Aral, and in the year 1853 two

* Russians in Central Asia, p. 322.

steamers were brought in pieces from Sweden, and launched upon the Syr. One of these steamers was armed with three howitzers;' the other being a steam barge, with provision for mounting guns. Meanwhile the Kokanians had developed active hostility. The two forces first came into collision in 1851, when the former, having driven off 75,000 head of Kirgheez cattle, were attacked by the Russians and one of their forts taken. This, however, did not put a stop to their depredations.

In the year 1852 an armed expedition was sent against the fort Akmechet. The Kokanians, to check it, flooded the low lands surrounding, and though the Cossack troops, after overcoming hosts of difficulties, stormed and took the outer works, they were repelled by the lofty earth walls within, on which their guns made no impression, and finally forced to retreat. "'This enterprise, achieved by a small division, which, in six weeks' time, had traversed more than 650 miles, successfully encountering extreme difficulties of ground, without boats or pontoons had crossed three rivers, had demolished three of the enemy's small forts, and destroyed the outer works of Ak Mechet is of considerable importance, in a military and strategic point of view."*

In the following year it was determined to take Ak Mechet at any cost. A force of over 2,000 men, strongly armed, left the frontier, and succeeded in overcoming all obstacles and reaching the fort. This had been greatly strengthened since the last attack, and was now well adapted to stand a severe siege. As it seemed too strong to be taken by assault, batteries were erected and a regular siege begun. After an investment of several weeks, a mine was sprung under the walls and the fort taken by assault.

The loss of this stronghold was a severe blow to the Kokanians, who had believed it impregnable, and several attempts were made to retake it. The latest of these was made with a body of 13,000 men, the whole Russian force numbering about 1,000. This powerful army was, however, put to flight by a

* Russians in Central Asia, p. 336.

Russian sortie. Kokan was hindered from a threatened renewal of her efforts, by the hostile attitude of Bokhara, and for several years the operations of the Russians were confined to the suppression of a band of Kirgheez rebels, in the pay of Khiva.

In 1861 possession was taken of a small fortress called Djulek, which was strengthened and garrisoned. This point lies within striking distance of the Khanat, lying on the borders of northern Kokan, a district of fine climate and fertile soil; beyond which lies the town of Vernoje, already mentioned. The region thus occupied by Russia is chiefly a desert, its only inhabitable portion being the narrow belt on each side of the river.

The ostensible object of the Russians in these various movements was the completion of their lines, and their removal from the desert to the inhabited border of Tookistan. Taking advantage of the internal dissensions of the Khanats they had resolutely forced their way down the Syr, and established military posts within thirty-two miles of the town of Tashkend, the military key to Central Asia. This movement, in connection with the forts erected in the steppes, surrounded the Kirgheez hordes with military stations, and in 1864 it was officially announced by Russia, that the above objects being attained, her aggressive policy was ended.

Meanwhile, in 1862, Kokan had been invaded by the Emir of Bokhara and completely conquered. In consequence of the disorganized condition of affairs resulting from this conquest the Russian camp was visited in the latter part of 1864 by a deputation from Tashkend, bearing a petition for protection from the merchants of that town. In spite of the late announcement of non-aggression, this opportunity was immediately embraced; a Cossack force marched into the interior of Kokan and occupied the town. This aggressive movement, though at first violently opposed by the rabid Mohammedanism of Tashkend, has since proved so acceptable to the inhabitants, from the protective character of the goverment established, that they are more than reconciled to Russian rule. The population of the town has, since then, largely increased, and among other radical changes, a Greek church has been built.

This military movement did not stop here, but was vigorously continued, and early in 1866 a large portion of Kokan was seized. The Emir of Bokhara, holding, as he had done, military possession of Kokan, became alarmed and infuriated at these threatening advances, and at once proclaimed a holy war against the aggressors. Colonel Struve, the eminent astronomer, who had been sent on an embassy from the Russian camp, was seized and imprisoned; religious emissaries were sent throughout the country, preaching "Death to the infidel!" and every effort made to raise troops to repel the invasion.

Of all the portions of the earth which make even the most feeble claim to civilization, Toorkistan takes the lead in ignorance and fanaticism. Their Islamism is of the most rabid cast, and is accompanied by an intolerance not known elsewhere on earth. For a known European to cross their borders is almost certain death. Vambery only succeeded in traversing their country by his deep disguise and long experience in Dervish customs, and members even of the opposing sect of Mohammedans to which the Persians belong are only tolerated as slaves. This exclusiveness, which has rendered the Khanats to the present day almost *terra incognita*, has kept them ignorant of the world of outside barbarians. They imagine that the mantle of strength and intelligence, which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, rendered this region the richest and most enlightened in the East, and its cities centres of Islamic learning, has descended on their shoulders, and they despise the exterior infidels accordingly. The invasion of Europe by the Turks, and the consequent dismay into which all Christendom was thrown, remain to them as a thing of yesterday, and the most extravagant ideas are held in relation to the power and influence of the Sublime Porte. To their ignorant fancy Europe still bends in cringing submission to the Turk, and they imagine that a bare promise of assistance from the Sultan would drive the invader in terror from the holy soil of Toorkistan. They depend also on two other powerful aids against aggression. One of these, and the most effective in our eyes, is the extensive deserts surrounding their territory. The other, in their eyes far more efficacious, is the large number of saints

buried in their soil. They seem to imagine that the bones of the saintly dead will rise, and form a spectral cordon utterly impassable to infidel feet.

It is not surprising then that with such powerful auxiliaries the emir rapidly succeeded in raising a strong force, and was successful in defeating the Russians, who had marched into Bokhara with the purpose of liberating Colonel Struve. The repulsed force retreated in order, in spite of all the efforts of their enemy, and ere the latter had much leisure for exultation over his success, a second advance was made, resulting in the capture of the large town of Khojend, and of other important posts, which completed the conquest of Kokan. The emir, astonished that the Sublime Porte had not annihilated the invader, and that the saints had serenely slept on with the foot of the infidel upon their graves, now sued for peace, which was readily granted.

The year succeeding was occupied in consolidating the Russian power in this region, and in organizing a new province, which received the name of Toorkistan. In May, 1868, an advance of the Russian force was made toward the mountains bordering the Chinese frontier, the towns being left weakly garrisoned, and the troops withdrawn from the frontier stations. The emir, who burned with indignation at the disgrace done to the central seat of the true faith, and with abhorrence of the barbarian invader, and who was deceived by this movement into an idea that the Russians were abandoning their conquests, immediately proclaimed a holy war, allied himself with the neighboring Khans, and marched against the Russian garrisons.

The Russian commander, advised in time of this movement, instantly ordered a vigorous advance of the garrison of Tashkend, the force which had been moving eastward being rapidly marched back to replace it. The Khan of Khiva meanwhile tried to enlist Afghanistan on his side, but failed. The troops of the emir, led by his nephew, were met and defeated near Samarcand, which city was at once occupied. Thus was the foot of the infidel at length planted upon the very heart of unadulterated Mohammedism, in a city the date of whose origin

reaches back beyond the birth of history, and the story of whose first capture is one of those remote legends which have floated down to us from pre-historic ages.

A vigorous effort was made by the enraged Musselmans to retake this holy city, the Russians were defeated and driven to the citadel, where, for eight days, they were closely besieged. They were relieved, however, the emir driven from the city, and firm possession maintained. Dispirited by these reverses, in July, 1868, he sued for peace, offering terms highly advantageous to the invaders. Samarcand was ceded to Russia, along with three other stations, which were shrewdly selected to give full military control of the country. One of these was a point on the road from Samarcand to Afghanistan. The second was an important station lying between Samarcand and Bokhara. The third lay near the Oxus, the three forming a triangle which, strongly occupied, would effectually lock Bokhara in the military embrace of Russia.

Other advantages were gained, of probably still more importance than these. The policy of seclusion, which had been so long and rigidly maintained, was yielded, it being expressly provided that all the towns should admit resident mercantile agents, and that protection should be guaranteed to the caravans and the commerce of Russia. The system of collection of duties had been completely disorganized, every one who felt strong enough constituting himself an independent officer of the customs, and exacting whatever duties suited his whim. The limit of duty was now fixed within two and one-half per cent. of the value of goods, and a regular system of collection was instituted.

These are the principal moves yet made in a military game that can have but one termination. Russia has already a radical advantage, and, however gradual she may be in her moves, it can only end in her taking full possession of Toorkistan, and incorporating it as a province of the Russian empire.*

---

* Il faut se représenter ensuite que la ligne des postes fortifiés et des stanitzas de Cosaques, qu'à partir de la mer Noire jusqu'à la Caspienne, la Russie y a établis le long du Kouban et du Térek et de leurs affluents principaux, en pous-

We have gone to some length in detaling these later military operations in Central Asia, convinced that the public generally has a very vague idea of the importance of the drama playing in this remote region, and that when the capture of Samarcand was announced a year or two ago, the great majority of readers had no idea of the importance of the event, and knew nothing of the career of conquest leading to it, or of the advantageous result to the conquerors.*

What we have detailed, however, is but the surface indications of Russian operations in Asia. Nothing is here seen of the strong web of diplomacy which the astute Muscovite has for years been industriously weaving, nor of the change in the habits and modes of thought of the Asiatics which the leaven of civilization in their midst is slowly effecting. This change alone can render permanent the work of the sword, and Russia, with her schools, of which the Kirgheez are rapidly taking advantage, with the aid of a newspaper printed in the language of the nomads, which has just been established, with the influence of settled communities in their midst, of stable government, suppression of robbery, encouragement of agriculture, and introduction of numerous luxuries into the steppes, with the various other results of their presence, is rapidly producing this change in their ideas and habits. The Russian movements are never barren military occupations. The conquests of the Cossacks are rapidly succeeded by the advance of the farmer with his family and stock. Every fort soon becomes the centre of a thriving

---

sant de plus en plus en avant ces postes et ses stanitzas fortifiés, forme une ligne d'attaque et de défense dont l'étendue au Nord et au Sud de la chaîne, est de 3,000 verstes." *Lettres de le Caucase.*

* "Dies war dadurch erreichbar wie angeblich auch bedingt worden, dass in den vorhergehenden Jahren von der Festung Raim (nachbar Aralsk) aus, am untern Syr-Darja, längst der Nord- und Ostküste des Aralsees, sowie im Thale des Japartes, russische Einwanderer Colonisten die Ureinwohner verdrängt hatten."

"This was by that means attainable as claimed to be by contract, that in the year preceding, from the stronghold of Raim (near Aralsk) onward, and under the Syr-Darja, along the North and East coast of the Sea of Aral, as well as in the valley of the Japarte, Russian emigrant colonists had driven out the aborigines."—*Russland unter Alexander II.*

colony, and all the advantages of a settled residence and civilized modes of life are displayed to the eyes of the wondering barbarians. This course has already had a powerful effect, and may have the most vital results in time. Russia is shrewdly rendering herself the central figure in Asiatic politics. Her power and the value of her friendship are strongly impressed on the tribes, and she is rapidly weakening the influence of England in Asia. "The Russian, in spite of his fair complexion, is more than half Asiatic. In his interviews with the Chinese, craft is encountered with craft, policy with policy, patience with patience. They have equal regard for truth."* In their negotiations each begins as far from the subject as possible. Time is no element in their calculations, it being seemingly a matter of indifference to them whether three hours or three weeks are employed. Each works for the weak point of the other, and will spend hours in working round a matter which a blunt European would cut through with a word. Hence it is that the Englishman is at such a disadvantage in Asia. They understand not his bluntness, nor he their intricacy of diplomatic intrigue, and they actually prefer to be cheated by the astute Muscovite than served by the direct sons of western Europe.

The Russian diplomat has all the softness and suavity of his Asiatic congeners; he can glide through their closest net of diplomacy without displaying an angle in his body; he conforms to their customs, and allows them to delay and prevaricate to their hearts' content. But his point once gained he is unyielding. He is an adept in the art of bribery; has emissaries everywhere; in fact thoroughly understands how to deal with Asia, and is too strongly imbued with this Asiatic spirit for European patience. "You must beat about the bush with a Russian. You must flatter them and humbug them. You must talk about everything but *the* thing. If you want to buy a horse you must pretend you want to sell a cow, and so work gradually around to the point in view."†

---

* Siberian Overland Route, p. 210.

† Overland Journey, p. 212.

Thus the shrewd Russian has gained point after point from his Oriental neighbors, and has permanently annexed a territory one half larger than all Europe, yet has ever succeeded in making faithful subjects of the inhabitants of this conquered district.

When we compare the career of Russia in Asia, with that of England, the difference is striking. The evident inequality, both mental and physical, between the Briton and his Indian subject, effectually prevents any assimilation, and the former but yields to his conviction of superiority in displaying an arrogance which the latter bitterly resents. The Briton is not only overbearing in his dealings with the natives, but, worse still, he does not appreciate the hereditary differences between them and himself, and is constantly offending the prejudices and interfering with the local customs of the country. The submission of the Indians to their foreign rulers is thus simply the result of fear, and lacks that feeling of interest and citizenship which the Russian is seeking to implant in the minds of his new subjects.

No man can predict the result of these movements. Asia has in all ages been peculiarly the field of great invasions, and the sudden building up of immense empires. From the remote past traditions and evidences of such movements come down to us, as in the Aryan conquests. Later we have the Mongol invasions, and numerous less extensive advances. But the movement of the Cossack has not the torrent rush of these invading hordes. He has the merit of endless caution, takes no risks, and is sure of the game before he shows his hand. The ground is prepared in front before he moves a foot forward, and all that he leaves in his rear falls into the strong embrace of the Russian empire. Gold and diplomacy are his weapons equally with the sword, and thus Europe is marching into Asia with a solid front full of significance for the future.

Within ten years Russia has made remarkable progress in her scheme of conquest. Kokan is absorbed into the empire. Khiva and Bokhara are prostrate at the feet of the Czar. In lower Asia her influence is becoming preponderant. Persia has been brought over or bought over, and is ready to

become her tool. Afghanistan is treacherous to the English and a friend of the Russians. There is reason to believe that secret agents of the court at St. Petersburg reside in all these southern countries, and take advantage of every opportunity to advance the interests of their employers.

In view of these significant indications, and of the fact that the Cossack advance is within fifteen days' march of India, England has strong reason to fear this ominous cloud overshadowing her Indian empire. In the event of a war between the two powers in Europe, is it probable that the mountain bulwark of the Hindoo Koosh and Kuen Lun ranges would long protect her borders? Were the Cossack troops strengthened by a powerful force of Afghan and Tartar recruits, warlike races for whom the Sepoys are no match, and by certain aid from the Mohammedans of India, the rule of England in this region would be greatly imperilled.

The desert lying between Orenburg on the European frontier of Russia and the borders of Toorkistan is a serious obstacle to her movements. It is rumored, however, that an idea is entertained which, if successfully carried out, will effectually overcome this difficulty. The geographers who accompanied the Greek invasion of this region, under Alexander the Great, represent the Amoo Daria, or Oxus, as emptying into the Caspian. The same termination is given to the Syr Daria, or Iaxartes. Both rivers now empty into the Sea of Aral. The intervening country, however, has been examined by engineers, who report in favor of such an ancient termination. In view of these facts an attempt may be made to restore the rivers to their ancient channel, and cause them to run into the Caspian. If such a project could be accomplished Russia would at once obtain full military command of Central Asia. By way of the Volga, St. Petersburg is within ready reach of the Caspian, and such a result would give a water line for two thousand miles further into the interior of Asia. By such a magnificent line of water communication troops and munitions of war could be readily and quickly transported from the heart of Russia to the foot of the Hindoo Koosh. Thus massed in force on the northern border of India, with a fertile and submissive country in

the rear, and the friendly and warlike Afghans in front, India would lie open to an invasion in force at any period when European difficulties might give a pretext to such a course, and we might then see the *denouement* of the drama of the Russian and Briton in Asia played on the banks of the Ganges. On both sides doubtless there would be powerful advantages, and it is impossible at the present stage of events to predict the result of a European war thus transferred to the plains of Hindostan.

ART. V.—1. *The Philosophy and History of Civilization*, by ALEXANDRE ALISON. London.

2. *Political Philosophy*, by HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM. London.

3. *A Fragment on Government*, by JEREMY BENTHAM. London.

4. *De la Democratie en Amerique*, par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, membre de l'Institut, &c. Paris.

WHEN Professor Huxley propounded the theory of the physical basis of life, and demonstrated with no little clearness and cogency, that no life with which we are acquainted exists without a fundamental physical existence, not only men of transcendental professions, who believe in the utter subordination of matter to mind, but men of moderate philosophic views, who believe in the equi-potency of mental and material forces and the mutually dependent existence of mind and matter, were startled and perplexed.

That a scientist so eminent as Huxley should have declared himself, his mental as well as bodily life, as based upon physical or material entities seemed a vast plunge, on the part of science, into the gulf of materialism. Kindred with that other strange hypothesis of the spontaneous development of the

various orders of life and the gradual evolution of the high from the low by infinitesimal additions and modifications—linked with such a hypothesis promulgated almost simultaneously by another equally eminent British scientist, the "Physical Basis of Life" seemed to portend unusual revolutions in philosophy, in morals, and in religion. Assisted and sanctioned by Dr. Carpenter and Prof. Tyndall, in the promulgation of such explanations of the origin of life, the theory seemed to obtain additional strength.

But when the author of the physical basis theory recently put forth an article, the ostensible design of which was to set at rest any doubts as to his belief in the existence of a mental or psychical as well as a material or physical existence, the philosophic world was still more perplexed as to what could be the import and relevancy of the theory. It is generally held by the chief physicists of the day that there is such a thing as soul as well as body, and this in spite of the charge of gross materialism; and when they arrive at the conclusion that physical existence is the basis of life, or that body is the fundamental structure of mind, they need not mean that matter is all, or that body is all that really exists in the universe.

Being devoted to the development and classification of physical phenomena, it is not unnatural, but simply unfortunate, that the physical scientists of our time should arrive at conclusions which, when formulated, should fail to be expressive of the exact result of the investigation, and, being desirous of magnifying their calling and the character of their work, like all other classes of men, they choose the highest terms and the most exalted expressions for the subject-matter of their toil besides perceiving the most momentous relations and consequences to all things else. If we take the whole result of the investigations of Prof. Huxley and the entire view expressed by the distinguished physicist, wherein he lays bare the most recondite phenomena of matter, and at the same time takes occasion to say that there is such a thing as life, and spirit, and soul, in contradistinction to matter, and body, and protoplasm, we must conclude that the phrase "physical basis of life" means something different from what has usually

been understood, and, if it has any meaning whatever, it simply signifies that life, so far as the eye of the human observer can penetrate, or the mind of the philosopher generalize, is always connected in some manner with some form of matter which is denominated a "physical foundation."

It is not the part of the scientist to say anything more than the facts warrant; and, if the originator of the physical basis theory had said we find certain forms of life *independent* of any physical or material existence, the assertion would have been unsupported by scientific facts. Or, if he had said that life *can* exist independent of any physical or material existence, it would have been a mere opinion unwarranted by the facts. Equally unfounded would have been the opposite of this proposition, whether true or not, that life and mind *cannot* exist without the accompaniment of, or dependence upon, any physical or material entity. But, in so far as Prof. Huxley's physical basis is assertive of the proposition that life and mind coexist with body and matter, and that there is a connection, correspondence, or dependence between the co-existences, it must be regarded as true and well supported; and we need only refer to the very elaborate system of philosophy now in progress by Mr. Spencer, in which the theory of evolution is being admirably exposed and illustrated, to show that a view of life, equally suspended upon physical existence, is consistent with a belief in the non-identity of the phenomena of mind and matter. We shall therefore interpret the expression "physical basis of life" as signifying the inevitable correspondence of the phenomena of life with the phenomena of the physical environment.

With this preface, as illustrative of our design in propounding the financial basis of society, it will not be difficult to comprehend, in the outset, what is meant by the terms "financial basis." Not that the chief and distinguishing element of social intercourse is a pecuniary element, but that society, in all ages has rested upon a pecuniary foundation, and has been, in some manner, connected with financial values. No order of beings, of which we have any positive knowledge, is at any time organized into a proper society without first establishing a pecuniary foundation upon which to erect the social edifice. The

observation of all states, conditions, periods, and modifications of society, gives the proposition that all orders of society which have had any permanent growth have been dependent directly or indirectly upon the financial condition of the environment.*

Those things which a good financial condition secures are the invariable elements and means of social advancement. There is, then, not only a correspondence of social phenomena and financial phenomena, there is an antecedence of the latter to the former. One of the factors in the social product is the desire among human beings to fraternize the natural primal and normal attraction of soul to soul. But this attraction cannot be felt; this agency cannot operate; this desire cannot be made manifest, unless through sense-perceptible media. And since the media of the transmission of the social feeling are either financial values, or capable of being represented by financial values, they constitute the other factor of the social product.

And further, since the external means and the internal motive always increase proportionately, the greater the financial prosperity of an age, or of a community, the greater will be desire for social culture.†

Again, it is a law of our nature that desires and passions are quite as frequently awakened by the presentation of objects to consciousness, as that objects are sought and means procured by the antecedent operation of those desires and passions. The influence is therefore mutual; and the resultant fact in life is thus stated: That sometimes desires and passions internally initiated, and requiring external

---

* *Ἔχμεν οὖν τούτων τῶν δύο κοινωνιῶν οἰκία πρωτη καὶ ὀρθῶς Ἡσίοδος εἶπε ποιήσας,*

Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἄροτῆρα.

"Now of these two societies the domestic tie is the first," and Hesiod is right when he says,

"First house, then wife, then oxen for the plough."

Aristotle's *Politics* b. i., cii.

† "But as there are many sorts of provisions, so there is a variety both in the lives of men and of the brute creation; and as it is impossible to live without food, the difference in that particular makes the lives of animals so different from each other."—Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i. c. viii.

manifestation, demand and procure the instruments for their gratification—that sometimes, on the other hand, the instruments themselves, being first presented to perception, produce the same transformation in the desires and passions of the individual, the order of origination alone being changed.

With these propositions as premises, and which are too evident to need verification, it will not be difficult to see the fundamental character of finance in society. It is true that many of the lower forms of society exist without the concomitant parallel existence of a well ordered business community in which financial schemes are initiated and perfected. As such may be instanced the Adamic period of social life when no circulating medium like money had any well defined place in the community; or as such may be instanced the barbarous and simple tribes of Africa and the islands of the southern seas.

But money and kindred financial media are only the representatives of the things which society uses in the accomplishment of its purposes—financial values are only the correspondences of real values. And if those lower forms of society, in which the grossest natures and nations mingle, are without any well defined system of finance, they have something to correspond—they have the values which money represents, the realities upon which finance must ever rest.

An observation of these lower, simpler and grosser types of humanity and society demonstrates that where the financial condition of a community has never assumed any distinct, defined and perfected shape, neither has the social condition assumed any complex, refined or elevated type. Advancing one period farther in the observation, we find that the leading race of humanity, beginning to learn the utility of representative values and a circulating medium, which, while the objects themselves remained stationary, could be revolved around, and which, while property remained fixed, could be removed at any distance, and, becoming acquainted with the facilities of such a mode of administering to the social wants, soon originated a highly refined and elevated society. And all along for ages we discover that nations have been socially flourishing

as they have been in a position to obtain the essentials upon which society depends for its external basis. This facility for acquiring the instruments for the cultivation and manifestation of the highest social feeling is always dependent upon the ease with which money is obtained and circulated. The verification of this proposition would call for the proof that money is advantageous in representing values and in facilitating the satisfying of wants. This we apprehend is too plain to need discussion.

Having noticed very briefly the ratio of financial growth to social growth, in the different periods of the world's history and also in the different periods in the history of a race, and having found that the ratio is constant, it will be our province now to treat of the correspondence in the different forms of well developed society. For this purpose it will be convenient to divide society into three divisions, well defined and recognized among civilized peoples—the society of wealth; the society of rank; the society of culture. To trace the society, whose distinguishing characteristic is wealth, back to a financial source, or to place it upon a financial basis, is not difficult, for the very appellation of the society of wealth implies that the members of that society are in the possession of large pecuniary means, and that the community in which it exists has a firm financial basis.

A passing glance at the composition of this social body will be sufficient to reveal the nature of the dependence indicated. The leading desire, the ruling principle, of such a community is to maintain and augment wealth or its representatives. Its social passion is in the display of that wealth and in the manifestation of its appreciation of the things that are only acquired by large expenditure. Such a society will have for the instrument of its desire, for the means of its internal communication, for the expression of the mutual love, affection or esteem of its members, for the gratification of its tastes both physical and psychical, for the whole machinery of its progress and propagation, only such apparatus, appliances, and procurements as financial prosperity will afford. The requisites for admission into the full enjoyment of the pleasures and the privileges of

the society are, of course, financial success. Intellectual growth and power are not essential; æsthetic culture, in a high degree, cannot be demanded; birth, family, station, cannot be deciding quantities in the qualifications of the candidate; and while all these may be possessed by the aspirant for social honors in the society of wealth, yet the determining element being deficient or utterly wanting, those honors cannot be obtained. For not being in possession of a foundation upon which to erect a rich social edifice, he cannot, therefore, build, and must choose other grounds. In this type of society, and which is common in all new countries so soon as wealth and a financial system has been thoroughly developed, the correspondence between the social life and the financial environment is most apparent. It is easy to see how such a form of society does and must draw from financial sources for its maintenance and continuance.

The next type of society, in which the connexion between the social life and the wealth of the community is not so direct, apparent, and homogeneous, is the society of rank, of honor, of power, of position, of political distinction. An inspection of the composition of this form of society will show that the members thereof obtain the means for their support from the wealth of the community over which they rule, by giving in exchange for that support something not like but unlike in kind. They give vigilance, clear perceptions, enlarged views of what the complex conditions of a great community require, lofty patriotism, an efficient and educated willingness to assume control over the interests and destinies of the whole people—they give all these for the things which financial values may procure, as well as for the moral support of the people.

Again, the means employed for the accomplishment of the purposes of the society of rank, are eminently such as financial values primarily obtain. The pageantry, the equipages, the grand edifices, the imposing retinue of attendants, and all the complex environment of men, means and measures, of palaces, personages and prerogatives, have their primal procurement resting in financial values. And, not only this, but the individuals themselves, who constitute the society of rank,

have acquired their ability to rule either through the means which their own wealth afforded or that of others. The teachers, the implements, the travel, the maintenance at political and educational centres which the rearing of a character fit to rule must have, are only obtainable through the expenditure of money, either belonging to the individual himself or his patrons. And when a society composed of such individuals, and their associates of the opposite sex, has been once established, or by such a stepping stone has once ascended to the throne, the maintenance thereof is accomplished, as we have seen through similar means.

A retrospect of the various grades through which the society of rank passes, in order to reach its efflorescence and highest development, will show that the connection with financial prosperity is equally true and real as in the case of the society of wealth. But the connexion or correspondence between this social life and its basis is neither direct nor homogenous; it does not derive its impulse nor its means directly from the financial values of which the community is possessed; nor do its communications and its manifestations partake of the same nature with its ultimate foundations. The society of rank has passed on from the state of mere homogeneity with its origin and environment (which is the characteristic of the society of wealth), and shows a social development in which the internal relations and means of communication are largely dissimilar and vastly removed from the outward causes and arrangements with which it is surrounded, and by which it is nourished.*

The dependence of this second order of society upon its primal basis, is not so clear and direct, as that of the first order, but rather indirect and heterogeneous. In the society of rank, the members constituting it and the means used in the manifestations of the social phenomena, are quite heterogeneous to those of the society of wealth and from which it may be said to be developed, yet the correspondence is real and traceable,

* "Thus property is necessary for states, but property is no part of the state, though many species of it have life."—Aristotle's *Politics*, b. vii., c. viii.

the change in the social body is effected by the introduction of new elements. It will be observed that the society of rank is prevalent in old countries which have passed through the early and gross periods of social and financial formation to this more refined and regal period.

In noticing the composition of the third species of social life, we observe that the dependence on a financial basis is not easily traceable. The society of culture has for its food and nourishment a small portion of physical elements. The media for the communication of its members are as much removed from the gross and sensual as possible, varying in proportion to the degree of culture. Money is never recognized in this type of society as being valuable *per se*, but only as a means for the satisfaction of refined tastes and keen spiritual appetites. The appetencies for each other are expressed more in manner than in matter, in things of delicate structure, in matters coupled with incidents, in articles enveloped in a cloud of meaning, in possessions crowded with associations. And yet, as even the most psychical pleasures are in some way dependent upon the modifications of physical entities—as even all social pleasures, to be definitely understood and mutually recognizable, must have something substantial as a fixed quantity upon which to place a mutually appreciable valuation, so must the highest and most attenuated forms of society depend, in some degree, upon values which are primarily purchased by financial values, and thus, finally, rest upon a financial basis.

And while the means for the intercommunication of the members of the society of culture and the things in which they take delight are not usually intrinsically valuable, and while the requisites of admission into the brotherhood of cultivated people are neither money nor pecuniary values of any sort, yet the invariable dependence of the society upon a financial basis is conceded. The correspondence between the society itself and its foundations, between the social life and its environment, is not homogeneous but heterogeneous, not immediate but mediate, not direct but indirect. The chief characteristic of the society is the cultivation of psychical functions; this is supported and nourished by means (namely, by physical and financial stimuli),

differing largely from the end. The correspondence in this respect is heterogeneous. The appliances of the society of culture, its books, its instruments, its specimens of art, its conservations of science, its whole apparatus for social as well as individual improvement, are obtained by the use of financial values; and these appliances, organs and apparatuses, are in turn made the indirect means of the enjoyment of persons of culture when associated in a social way. The correspondence between the society and the basis is, in this respect, indirect and mediate. Again, these same means and appliances, of which the society of culture makes constant use, have required great study, leisure, artistic skill, literary research, scientific investigation, experiment, mechanical ingenuity, extending back through long periods and gradually accumulating always at an outlay of wealth and financial values; so that the connection or correspondence between the society itself and its basis extends in time to a great amount. We should therefore expect to find a well-organized and permanent society of culture nowhere, save in an old, long-civilized country. The expectation is supported by the facts. The oldest and longest-civilized countries of Europe alone (with a few exceptions in our own country) present this species of society in any enlarged sense.*

But the different orders of society to which we have referred do not always, and, we may say, do not usually, exist as such. We find large departments of social life the *leading* characteristic of which is either wealth, rank, or culture. It is common in America to find a large class of society whose almost exclusive qualification is wealth, having neither culture, political influence, or birth. In monarchical countries, where rank and title are hereditary, the anomaly often occurs of whole sections of the society of rank without wealth and sometimes even without culture. In all educational countries, where the enlightenment of the people has so far advanced,

* "For what every being is in its perfect state, that certainly is the nature of that being, whether it be a man, a horse, or a house."—Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i., c. ii. 7.

as that whole orders of men are set apart for the advancement of learning, where colleges, universities and seminaries have been long established, there arises a spirit of liberality and refinement and a habitude of much thinking, which, when united with the social tendency, produces a department of society possessing culture of a high degree but neither wealth nor political power.

But the gradual assimilation of the different species of social life has gone on in sympathy with the assimilatory spirit and law of the age, and now we find most frequently a combination of two and sometimes of the three different orders of society in one. Wealth and rank are often combined; wealth and culture frequently; rank and culture almost invariably; and wealth, rank, and culture, in a large number of cases. But whatever may be the composition of a given state of society, or however simple or complex may be the elements of which it it constituted, the one relation or correspondence, connection or dependence, upon a financial basis, remains a fixed fact

There is one order of society which is omitted in our analysis because it is not ordinarily included under the term society as here used, that is, the society of moral worth. There may be such a thing as a social body, whose chief characteristic is morality or religion, whose ruling principle is right, or duty, or devotion, but such organizations are beyond the scope of this article, and their dependence upon a financial basis, although apparent, will not be here noticed. That a moral and a religious element should and does permeate society of whatever type, and that ethical modifications are frequently the initiatory impulses of social organizations, is not doubted. But we are treating of that social life where internal initiation is, with the emotions and desires, the reciprocal feelings of humanity—we are discussing that social product which has one factor of its evolution in the desire of the souls of men for each other. It is a well-recognized fact, however deplorable, that morality is not an absolute prerequisite, nor immorality (unless it be of a gross type) a peremptory disqualification, for entrance into or continuance in the society of wealth, rank, or

culture, or any of their modifications or combinations. It is a phenomenon, not unfrequent in social life, that a person of very exceptional moral character presses the tapestry of the parlors of the rich, or moves in the halls of the noble, or figures, admired and lauded, in the drawing rooms of the cultured. The ethical element in society, athough important, is not a determining element, and is not sufficient, therefore ,to give a distinguishing appellation to an order of society.

There are many important deductions to be made from this dependence of society upon financial conditions. And it may as well be stated here that all schemes for a disruption, disarrangement, dissolution, or disturbance of the financial condition of a great community react unfavorably upon its social condition. The rapid descent from affluence to poverty, the equally rapid ascent from poverty to affluence, in the case of any number of individuals, has a demoralizing influence upon society. Each, in his new realm, is a stranger and finds himself quite incompetent to bear the pains and burdens, the privileges and duties, of his new situation. The environment of poverty suddenly thrown around the family accustomed to the exercise of high social functions, totally unfits it mentally and morally as well as financially for the exercise of those activities which it has so long conducted with freedom, comfort and pleasure, and precipitates it into a region of blight, discomfort and dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the environment of wealth or honor, suddenly enveloping a family previously unaccustomed to the refinements of a high type of society, causes it to stand perplexed and bewildered before the complex arrangements which such a society presents to its perceptions and the complex performances which it requires from its activities.

All panics, all commercial crises, all periods of extraordinary and transient growth of wealth, tend inevitably to the unsettlement of social foundations. The individuals, and the society which they compose, meet the ever recurring arduous task of adapting themselves to new conditions and new relations. This continued strain upon the power of adjustment, while it exhausts psychical forces, gives no time for the successful operation and direction of physical forces and the appro-

priation of the benefits accruing from whatever financial prosperity may arise. The temptations, which persons in failing circumstances find to seek closer affiliation with persons of substantial wealth, in order to conceal for a time, or during a crisis, their real financial condition, only prove the arduous nature of the task of changing the adjustment of social sensibilities from a higher to a lower range. But the fall must inevitably come; and waning political power or failing resources, although not immediately followed by disastrous social results, in any particular society, will finally effect an unfavorable change. The giving away of the foundations must eventuate in the ruin of the superstructure. And, while the sudden and deplorable crash of commercial ruin operates most immediately and quickly upon that society whose distinguishing feature is wealth, yet, mediately and sooner or later, the effect of the concussion is communicated to that social body whose characteristic is rank, or political influence, or culture. It is true that financial fluctuations and commercial exigences do not effect so largely, in the first instance, the society of culture, as of rank, or wealth. The individual whose mind has been throned at last among the everlasting hills of majestic truth, whose moral and mental life is spontaneous and scarcely dependent at all upon the external world for stimuli, whose soul basks in a sunlight clearer and steadier than the rays of the solar orb—the man of this character is not affected, perceptibly, and immediately, by such financial crises.*

But the effect must be visible when he comes to the excercise of his social functions and finds that the dependencies of social intercourse, the material concomitants, the outer essentials of highly developed, highly organized and well-regulated society, have been swept away by the besom of financial disaster.

It will also be noticed that all attempts to change the distribution of property, as by an equal division among all per-

---

* *Τον δὲ κτημάτων πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ ἡγεμονικώτατον τοῦτο δ'ἦν ἄνθρωπος.* ("But of property the first and most necessary part is that which is best and chiefest, and that is man.")—Aristotle's *Economics*, b. i., c. v.

sons, must effect disastrous social results. Laying aside the consideration of the suddenness of the change and the rapidity of renewed adjustment of social relations to a new financial environment (for it is conceded that the distribution might be *gradually* effected), it is extremely doubtful if any good would come from the practical execution of the scheme of equal distribution of financial values. There might be, after long periods of adjustment of relations to each other, a mediocre social state, having nothing in particular to disparage or to recommend it—a social life possessing a low state of vitality, coherency, and organization. But, we believe, that a highly developed, highly organized society is only possible in the midst of a financial environment and property-distribution such as the world now possesses. No transcendent and extraordinary development in physical, or psychical life, can be evolved without a corresponding accumulation and aggregation of correlative forces; and the same is true in social evolution—no mangificent and perfected type of society can be produced, save by the accumulation and aggregation of the forces which support and nourish social life. One of these correlated and stimulating forces, in the production of society, is financial value; and a distribution and dissipation of these values will render possible only a low social vitality.*

The dependence of the different orders of society upon financial values affords a reliable standard for testing the relative standing of the different orders. Even if we judge by the financial standard alone, or rather by the nature of the dependence of each order upon its financial basis, we shall find a large difference in the estimate we are to put upon the various classes. In life the highest types are those which are most unlike the elements out of which they were originally organi-

---

* *Ἐστι γαρ ἑτερα ἡ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁ κατα φύσιν καὶ αὕτη μεν οἰκονομικὴ ἡ δὲ καπηλίκὴ ποιητικη χρημάτων σὺ παντως ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ χρημάτων μεταβολῆς.* ("For the mere getting of money differs from natural wealth, and the latter is the true object of economy; while trade only procures money, not by all means, but by the exchange of it.")—Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i. c. ix.

ized. The more nearly the product of vital functions is like the food which supplies the organism, the lower is the order of existence. The biological law may be further stated thus: the closer the connection between any species of life and its primary basis, and the nearer the relations within correspond with those without, and the less the number and distance of outward stimuli, the lower is the type of life. Now, that form of society which is most intimately connected with financial values in its origination and continuance, which in its communications and reciprocal actions most nearly resembles the financial environment, which is most immediately sensitive to financial stimuli and to the want of such stimuli—that society must be of the first or lower order in the ascending scale of social evolution. And it is not difficult to ascertain, on reflection, and on making a retrospect of the analysis already set forth, that the society whose distinguishing feature is wealth is of that order. Having almost exclusive dependence upon financial values, and drawing to a minimum extent upon other and compound resources, it has an existence almost homogeneous with the commercial world. It differs mostly in the individuals who conduct it and in the attributes involved—in the one case the participants being only men, in the other, men, women, and children; in the one case, the attributes required being the harder, sterner, craftier; in the other, the softer, sweeter, prettier.*

Again, that order of society in which the dependence upon its primary basis is less precise and immediate, in which the means of communication and the reciprocal activities are less like those of the financial environment, in which the sensitiveness to financial stimuli, although great, is not immediate and exclusive, in which the correspondence of internal and social relations to external and financial relations is not the result of contact with the social organism but of a chain of causes to which the organism is capable of responding in detail—that

* "C'est une mauvaise espèce de richesse qu'un tribut d'accident et qui ne dépend pas de l'industrie de la nation, du nombre de ses habitations, ni de la culture de ses terres."—Montesquieu *De l'Esprit des Lois*, l. xxi., c. xii.

order of society must occupy the next and second place in the ascending scale of social life. To this order must be assigned that society whose distinguishing characteristic is rank, political power, birth. Not being homogeneous to the financial world either in its interests or its reciprocal actions, this order of society, by the incorporation of new and lofty elements of social intercourse has developed a higher type of society than that of wealth and achieved for itself just distinction and admiration.

But that order of society whose dependence upon financial values is most invisible and recondite, whose media are the most subtile and attenuated, and least unlike the environing financial media, whose impressibilities and activities are least directly dependent upon the stimuli of financial forces, but whose sensibilities are affected through a long concatenation of causes and concauses at the farther extremity of which lies the antecedent cause of financial support—that society must be the third and highest in the ascending scale of social life. And whether the civilized world has yet produced this type of society largely, may well be doubted. If not, we are yet to possess the supreme felicity of seeing a well-organized, flourishing and extensive society of culture among men. We already have the fragments—we already have small communities containing splendid specimens of this advanced growth. The beauty, the symmetry, the complexity of organs, the power, the sensitiveness, the speciality, of life physical and psychical, are always in proportion to the remoteness of the primary basis of that life. So the harmony and the glory, the dignity and the refinement, the mental and moral elegance, grandeur and splendor of social life, are in proportion to its remoteness from its financial basis.*

* "By nature too, some beings commend, and others obey for the sake of mutual safety; for a being endowed with discernment and forethought is by nature the superior and governor."—Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i., c. ii.

"Il y à deux sortes de peuples pauvres; ceux que la dureté du government à rendu tels; et ces gens la sont incapable de presque ancune vertu, parce que leur pauvreté fait une partie de leur servitude: les autres ne sont pauvre que parce qu'ils ont dédaigné, ou parc qu'ils n'ont pas connu les commodités de la vie; et ceux-ci peuvent faire de grandes choses, parce que cette pauvreté fait une partie de leur liberté."—Montesquieu *De l'Esprit de Lois*, l. xx., c. iii.

Having noted the differentiation of the various connexions between the different orders of society, simple and compound, and their common financial basis, also the relative standing of the several orders according to the intimacy of that dependence upon financial causes, we will glance briefly at the condition and prospects of American society. But first as to the order of its development. A generation produces a great change in the social life of a community. While the fathers and mothers toiled for the accumulation of property, for the aggregation of financial values, caring little and doing less for social intercourse, the sons and daughters having been blest with a good education, and, at last, having become possessed of the inheritance, begin the erection of a social structure upon the foundations which their parents laid. And, whether or not the accumulation of wealth goes on, there arises at least a transient social life —a society having organization and well-defined reciprocal activities.*

If the aggregation of financial values continues, under the management of this second generation, there is laid a still broader and firmer foundation for the enlargement of the social structure in the succeeding generation. And this accumulation, united with the tendency to social life transmitted by birth and fostered by education, gives rise to a society of a still higher type. At length the members of this growing social body begin to turn their attention to politics, and, being successful, a new element is incorporated. Or, becoming imbued with the spirit of learning, they throng our schools and colleges, and the choice variety of culture is engrafted on the already flourishing social plant †

And so the evolution proceeds, unless met by financial or

---

* "Le commerce guérit des prejugés destructeurs; et c'est presque une règle générale que partout où il y a des mœurs douces, il y a du commerce, et que partout aù il y a du commerce, il y a des mœurs douces."—Montesquieu *De l'Esprit des Lois*, l. xx. c. i.

† "Les habitudes de la vie privée se sont centinnées dans la vie publique; et il faut bien distinguer chez eux les economies qui dépendent des institutions, de celles qui découlent des habitudes et des mœurs."—De Jocqueville's *Démocratie en Amerique*, 2me partie, cv.

political reverses or by physical incapacities, until a society of large and symmetrical proportions is brought into perfected existence. This is the order in which society is developed; and although we have not yet observed any universal existence of the type last noticed, yet we, in this country, possess all the requisites for a highly developed and harmonious social life. With all our vast resources and the rapidity with which they are susceptible of development, with a population rapidly increasing from external as well as internal sources, we are yet in the beginning of the aggregation of financial values. The comparative newness of the country, the comparative youth of the American nation, and the concomitant claim which material interests have upon the universal thought of the American people, render it not unnatural that wealth and material success should be an immediate basis for a large proportion of our social life. And with the exception of a few brilliant and magnificent cases in as many old communities, there is very little society in America that is distinguished either by political power, family, or culture. Gradually there will arise, notwithstanding the assimilating and amalgamating tendency of our nation and time high orders of society whose distinguishing feature will be derived from political station,* and finally from intellectual culture. America will be no anomaly among nations; and when the American people shall have advanced beyond the initial period of universal money-making and universal devotion to material and corresponding financial interests; having laid, in the order of development and according to the law of social evolution, a financial basis, they will then turn their attention and their energies to the erection of a social structure both dignified and elegant. A new type of social life, beautiful, harmonious, and powerful, will have been developed, and the American nation will have taken her place as among the foremost in social refinement, scientific advancement, and political liberty.

* It is, perhaps, difficult to see how this can be in a country possessed of such a government and such institutions as ours, and where offices are filled—not by the same individual for any length of time, but by different individuals in rapid succession. But when our civil service shall have been reformed and placed upon a different basis, such a state of things as is here indicated will become possible.

ART. VI.—1. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par. H. TAINE. 4 vols. Paris, 1866.

2. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. TAINE. Tome cinquième et complementaire. Les contemporains. Paris, 1869.

ON the 20th June, 1837, Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England. Since that day a generation has passed away, and the British nation has progressed in its ideas. Many political evils have been cured, and many social abuses reformed. If much remains to be done before the people attain to the full development of their rights and their capacity, it must be admitted that much has been accomplished. The rigid barriers formerly existing between the different ranks of society have been broken down. The peasant no longer dreads the peer, nor does the peer now feel himself degraded by coming in contact with the peasant. The professions and the public offices are open to all who can show that they possess the requisite qualifications for them, and no one is now excluded from them merely on account of the obscurity of his origin. All these changes have produced corresponding changes in the manners and habits of the people, and as the literature of a nation is in a great measure the reflex of its life and modes of thought, it follows that it will be similarly affected. Accordingly, we notice that the prevailing tone of English writers now is different from what it was thirty-four years ago.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, England was just recovering from the violence of the political contests between the new Liberals and the old Tories respecting the removal of disabilities from Dissenters from the established church, the admission of Roman Catholics to parliament and to public offices, and the Reform bill of 1832, which last came near convulsing the country with civil war. In the literary world these parties, Radicals and Tories, found their representatives. Scott and Byron were still in the zenith of their popularity, although the first had passed away five years previously, and the second more than thirteen years. Scott was a tory to the backbone, a virulent one of the old school, a worshipper of kings and nobles, titles and ancient lineage; and al-

though he could create such characters as Jeanie Deans and Caleb Balderstone, and was kindly in all his relations with the poor, he scouted the idea of conferring political power on the people. The tenor of his novels and poems shows that his sympathies lay chiefly with those rulers of men, who held their power by virtue of birth and ancestry. He found a co-adjutor in Archibald Alison, the sentiments in whose "History of Europe" are counterparts of those contained in his "Life of Napoleon." And the bulk of the daily and weekly journals, the monthly and quarterly reviews, were unfavorable to the concession of political rights to the masses. On the other hand, much of the extraordinary popularity of Byron arose from his uncompromising hostility to the governing classes and the aristocracy. From his earliest debut as a politician and poet, he had denounced oppression of every kind. One of his very first poems was a eulogy on Charles James Fox, the far-sighted statesman; and in his last he utters the following sentiment:

> "And I will war, at least in words (and—should
> My chance so happen—deeds) with all who war
> With thought; and of thought's foes by far most rude,
> Tyrants and sycophants have been and are.
> I know not who may conquer; if I could
> Have such a prescience, it should be no bar
> To this, my plain, sworn, downright detestation
> Of every despotism in every nation."*

His poetry teems with the noblest aspirations for, and advocacy of liberty, and his prophecy of its ultimate triumph seems about to be realized:

> "But never mind;—'God save the king' and kings!
> For if *He* don't, I doubt if *men* will longer,
> I think I hear a little bird, who sings
> The people by and by will be the stronger."†

His political sentiments were fully developed in "The age of Bronze," and they drew down upon him the hostility of the privileged classes, and especially of the landowners whom he therein mercilessly satirized. This added greatly to his popularity,

---

* *Don Juan*, Canto ix. st. xxiv. † *Ibid.* Canto viii, st. l.

and his poetry contributed powerfully to the development of that determination on the part of the people to obtain their fair share of political power, which has been so marked a feature of the present queen's reign. The writings of Cobbett, Home, and other inferior authors had preceded Byron and produced considerable effect, but in their day the hour had not come for the supreme effort, which upset the tories in England and the Bourbons in France.

In 1837 there were but few survivors of that cluster of brilliant writers who have made the first quarter of the nineteenth century so illustrious, and those who still lived were only shadows of what they had been. Wordsworth, Moore, Southey, Campbell, Rogers, James Montgomery, Allan Cunningham, Miss Edgeworth, Mary Russell Mitford, W. Lisle Bowles, Jane Parker, Joanna Baillie, Amelia Opie, and Madame D'Arblay still lingered on the scene, but the light within them had grown dim and they do not properly belong to the Victorian era. Moore and Southey had exhausted their genius and were inhabitants of "a fantastic realm," for softening of the brain had obscured their perceptions. Wordsworth was then sixty-seven; Campbell, sixty; Rogers, seventy-five; Montgomery, sixty-five; Cunningham, fifty-one; Miss Edgeworth, seventy one; Miss Mitford, fifty-one; Miss Porter, sixty-one; Bowles, seventy-five; Miss Baillie, seventy-three; Mrs. Opie, fifty-three, and Madame D'Arblay, eighty-two. Sharon Turner and Lingard had given to the world their great works and yielded their places to historians of a more brilliant stamp. A new generation of writers was stepping on to the stage, and a list of upwards of five hundred names of men and women of considerable genius and talent proves that there has been an unusual outpouring of the intellect of the nation during the period we are now considering. It is a new period in the history of English literature. The last was accomplished when Scott died (1832).

"La Période presente," says Taine, * 'n'est point encore accomplie, et les idées qui la governeront son en voie de formation, c'est-à-dire

* *Les Contemporains.* Avertissement.

l'état d'ébauches; c'est pourquoi on ne peut à présent les grouper en système. Qaund les documents ne sont encore que des indices, l'histoire doit se réduire á des études, la science se modele sur la vie, et nos conclusions restent forcément incomplètes, quand les faits qui nous les suggèrent sont inachievées. Dans cinquante ans, on pourra écrire 'histoire de ce siècle; en attendant on ne peut que l'esquisser"

This is indisputable, and accordingly we shall not attempt a history, but content ourselves with discussing what appear to us to be the principal characteristics of the literature of England of the last thirty-four years.

The English intellect has been active in every department. Works on history, divinity, theology, moral, political, and social economy, archæology, philology, and every branch of science, have been issued with a liberal hand; while novels and plays have literally been poured forth in such profusion that one contemplates the fact with dismay. Who can read a tithe of them? and what will be the ultimate result if the world should be inundated with them in like manner for the next fifty years? The excessive multiplication of books tends to their destruction. Every nook and corner of the world is visited now-a-days, and a large number of travellers consider themselves bound to give the public the benefit of their experience. In this manner voyages and travels have been and are being multiplied, until our book shelves groan under the weight of them.

The most striking feature of the history of modern literature is the rapid increase in the number of newspapers and magazines. In 1837 the London Times was a power in the state: its predictions were looked upon as infallible, and its denunciations were dreaded. Had a nuisance existed for centuries, it might have gone on existing, until "the Thunderer" pronounced it detestable, and then its speedy doom was considered certain. It occasionally made mistakes in its prophecies, and sometimes failed to see its denunciations carried out; but that did not destroy its *prestige*, some of which adheres to it still, though greatly dimmed. Some twenty years ago it undertook to get rid of Temple Bar, which it denounced as a ridiculous obstruction (as, indeed, it is), to the traffic of Fleet street and the Strand, and as an unsightly architectural pro-

duction of the time of Charles II. Yet there it stands in all its obstructiveness and hideousness, smoke-begrimed and defiant of the Times; its fall has been decreed by other parties independently of "the Thunderer." The Daily News and the Daily Telegraph now rival the Times in ability, and the latter surpasses it in circulation;* but neither of them was in existence in 1837. The Morning Herald, the Morning Journal, the Courier, the Globe, the Morning Chronicle, and other old contemporaries of the Times have disappeared, and given place to papers conducted more in accordance with the prevailing sentiments of the community, with more truthfulness, and less scurrility.

The reduction in the price of newspapers now makes them easy of access to the working man; but in 1837 the majority of the poorer classes had to resort to the tavern to get a look at the day's paper, or else content themselves with their Sunday paper, the staple of which was criminal trials, police reports, accidents, prize fights, and coarse jokes, with scurrilous leading articles and perversions of the daily news. In this respect, however, the English Sunday papers have changed but little; only they have been rendered more truthful by the rapid action of the telegraph, which has powerfully contributed to the change of the character of modern journalism. In those days newspapers were an expensive luxury: now they are a necessity, obtainable at a very cheap rate. They are the great educators, in spite of their blemishes. It is almost impossible to estimate their real value; but they must be taken into account in treating of current literature, for their criticisms have a great influence upon it, and by elevating the people they have greatly altered its character. We are not prepared to say that the alteration has been for the better, for the bulk of the books

* It is now admitted even in England, that, by its universally acknowledged enterprise and spirit, the New York *Herald* surpasses the London *Times* as a newspaper; and it is undeniable that the former has a much larger circulation both at home and abroad than the latter. And if the New York *Times*, *World*, and *Tribune*, be compared with any other three London papers, it will be generally admitted by competent, impartial judges on both sides of the Atlantic, that the American journals are at least equal to their English contemporaries in all the essential requirements of newspapers.

issued yearly are of a superficial and ephemeral character, and much of the intellect and influence of cultivated and gifted minds is now frittered away in magazine writing. Magazines have multiplied until they have become an impediment to each other: they have fostered the habit of what the late Dr. Rush called "disjointed thinking." In 1837 they were few in number in England. Fraser's Magazine was, properly speaking, a review; but until Charles Knight started "the Penny Magazine," the few that were in existence were obscure periodicals of very little literary merit.

When Ainsworth's and Bentley's were started—which was about this period—a new career was opened up to writers, for the proprietors of these magazines engaged persons of the highest talent to contribute to them and to illustrate them. In this manner the genius of Dickens, Thackery, Jerrold, Blanchard, Thomas Hood, Cruickshank, Seymour, H. K. Browne, Leech, and many others, was developed. Ainsworth produced many of his own romances in his magazine, and Dickens contributed Oliver Twist to Bentley's. Between them they inaugurated what was not inaptly styled "the literature of Newgate." Fagan, Bill Sykes, and Jack Sheppard, became popular characters; they took possession of the stage, and created more burglars, pickpockets, and receivers of stolen goods, than they reformed. "Artful Dodgers" abounded, and were the theme of newspaper pleasantry. The public taste became vitiated: there arose a craving for tales wherein highwaymen, detective policemen, and crimes and criminals of every shade figured. Bulwer—probably without intending it—contributed to the fostering of this taste by his Paul Clifford, a political satire, but very easily mistaken for a mere story of a highwayman.

This craving for scenes in the life of criminals has been largely supplied by the modern novelists, both French and English. Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, Balzac, Paul de Kock, and other Frenchmen have sometimes carried their descriptions beyond the limits of decency: but some of the English novelists have been almost as bad. Ainsworth's "Crichton," and all of G. W. M. Reynolds' writings smack of obscenity.

Charles Reade, Ainsworth, Miss De la Raimée, Miss Braddon, Mrs. Henry Wood, Sheridan Le Fann, Wilkie Collins and Yates have taken particular crimes under their protection, and succeeded in making their guilty heroes and heroines interesting. Murder, adultery, forgery, bigamy, seduction, burglary, swindling, and rascality of every kind are as familiar with them as household words. But it must also be admitted that these crimes are not wholly unknown to the really great masters of romance, Dickens, Thackeray, D'Israeli, and Miss Evans, though they are deprived of much of their grossness by the artistic manner in which they are treated. Out of upwards of seventy writers of fiction who have flourished and are flourishing during Victoria's reign, there are scarcely twenty who have been content to rely upon scenes in ordinary life, free from actual crime, for their materials; or who, if they do introduce crime into their tales, make it exceptional and as little prominent as need be. Of these, Anthony Trollope, Charlotte Brontë, Tom Hughes, William and Mary Howitt, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Kingsley, Lover, Mrs. Riddell, Miss Sinclair, the Baroness Tautphous, and, perhaps, Lever, are favorable examples. We say "perhaps Lever," for his object is to depict scenes of fun and wit, wherein his heroes are not over scrupulous in their morality nor loth to play very serious practical jokes. He is not averse to duelling and elopements, but he does not select mere unmitigated villains to exercise his powers upon.

The English have attained a preeminence in novel writing. Other nations have produced elegant and artistic tales, but these have not been characterized by the extraordinary variety, force, copiousness, and truth to nature which the English romances possess. From the days of Defoe to the present time there has not been lacking authors of high graphic power. Fielding, Smollet, Richardson, Goldsmith, Sterne, Johnson, Hawkesworth, Miss Burney, Mrs. Radcliffe, Lewis, Mackenzie, Godwin, Beckford, Hope, Ward, Croly, Croker, Miss Edgeworth Miss Austen, Miss Porter, Mrs. Opie, and others have constituted the chain which runs on through Scott, James, and Bulwer, down to the latest fiction-producers. But in one feature the modern novelists are honorably distinguished from their

remote predecessors: they do not indulge in profane and obscene language. Such coarseness as disfigures the pages of Fielding and Smollett would be fatal to any book now-a-days. The French will tolerate indelicacy and even indecency, but not vulgarity. M. Taine makes some just though satirical remarks on English feeling on this point. "The public taste of England," he says, * "requires that novels shall be moral, and fit to be read by young girls. It is practical, and will not permit literature to corrupt practical life. Family religion prevails, and literature must not depict passions which attack family happiness." Nevertheless, modern novels deal largely and principally with these passions, but the French make them attractive and romantic, while the English condemn them all the while they are discussing them. In this respect even such writers as Ainsworth and Reynolds, Lawrence and "Ouida," (Miss De la Ramée), contrast favorably with Dumas, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and Eugène Sue, though not possessing a tithe of their genius.

English novelists, moreover, avoid giving offensive names to their works. One of Alexander Dumas' latest stories was named *Création et Rédemption*, but it related to the first revolution and the Girondists. The French seem to have no reverence for the Deity, for they make indiscriminate use of his name on every occasion. They jumble up sacred and profane associations together in an extraordinary manner. In one novel the heroine, in agonies of by no means uncalled for penitence, lays on the altar, before which she lies prostrate, a hand "deliciously well gloved" (*delicieusement gantée*!) Some years ago a book appeared with the title of *Le Fils du Diable*, which had a chapter headed *Le Mystère de la Trinité*, alluding to the likeness of the three brothers, the heroes of the tale. Eugène Sue, in his *Mystères du Peuple*, conducted his readers to Jerusalem and to a supper at the house of Pontius Pilate, whereat the chief priests and Sadducees arranged the death of Christ. Fired with emulation, apparently, at this original idea, Alexandre Dumas wrote immediately afterwards his *Isaac*

* *Les Contemporains*, p. 39.

Laquedem, wherein he went over the same ground, including the crucifixion, and quoted a variety of texts which have no existence, adding to the whole a variety of miracles *à discrétion*. Such bad taste and profanity cannot be charged against even the most immoral of the English novelists. The latter also avoid the too common French fault of painting all their good characters as impossible angels, and their bad ones as equally impossible fiends. In one of their novels we find the hero walking along the street with his last napoleon in his pocket, seeing a child in rags sitting under an archway, and immediately, without a word of enquiry, slipping the coin into her fingers and going forward to destitution, supported by the sublime sense of having performed a virtuous action. As soon as this noble fellow has disappeared, a French lady, the *ame damnée* of the story, comes along, and seeing the same child, immediately adopts her and brings her up to murder her father!

There is no medium or shade of coloring in this style of writing. How vastly inferior this is to the endless variety of traits and delicate discrimination of peculiarities of character and manner, which abound in the pages of Dickens, Thackeray, and Trollope! At the same time it must be confessed that the enormous quantity of namby-pamby rubbish called novels, which crowd Mudie's shelves, is discreditable to the common sense of the English nation. The writing of novels has became a trade: they are manufactured by the three volumes at a time, and for some time past the London publishers have been putting them forth at the rate of four novels a week! two hundred new novels a year! M. Taine finds fault with English novelists for not being sufficiently philosophical, and for not analyzing human motives more profoundly than they do. He maintains that

"Un caractère est une force, comme la pesanteur ou la vapeur d'eau capable par rencontre d'effets pernicieux ou profitables, et quo'n doit définir autrement que par la quantité des poids qu'il soulève ou par la vapeur des dégâts qu'il cause. C'est donc méconnaître l'homme que de le réduire, comme fait Thackeray et comme fait la littérature anglaise, à un assemblage de vertus ou de vices; c'est n'apercevoir de lui que la surface extérieure et sociale; c'est negliger le fond intime et naturel. Vous trouverez le même défaut dans leur critique toujours morale, jamais psychologique, occupée à mesurer exactement le degré

d'honnêteté des hommes, ignorant de mécanisme de nos sentiments et de nos facultés: vous trouverez le même défaut dans leur religion, qui n'est qu'une émotion ou une discipline, dans leur philosophie, vide de métaphysique, et si vous remontez à la source selon la règle qui fait dériver les vices des vertus et les vertus des vices, vous verrez toutes ces faiblesses dériver de leur énergie native, de leur éducation pratique et de cette sorte d'instinct poétique, religieux et sévère qui les a faits jadis protestants et puritains."*

For our own part we prefer the flesh and blood realities of the great English novelists to the shadowy creations of the French mind. Becky Sharp is to us worth a dozen Consuelos. We daily meet with Ralph Nickelbys and Lily Dales, but no one ever encountered an Edmond Dantés. Such living characters as Sir Roger de Coverley, Uncle Toby, Corporal Trim, the Vicar of Wakefield, and Jeanie Deans, are not found in French romances, though in some of Balzac's there is an approximation to human nature as it is, without putting on its hands "the most delicious gloves."

The drama, in a literary point of view, has not been distinguished for its excellence during the Victorian era. Adaptations of French sensational plays, "screaming" farces, burlesques, gaudy stage display, and "startling effects" have been the staple of the theatrical productions of England of late years. Many attempts have been made to revive a taste for Shakespeare and the older dramatists, but they have had no permanent success, and have usually entailed heavy loss upon the managers. Boucicault's great knowledge of stage effect has been more profitable to them, and "Romeo and Julia" has had to give place to "The Colleen Bawn." Sheridan Knowles is the prominent dramatist of the era, but he properly belongs to the reigns of George IV. and William IV., for his best plays were produced between 1815 and 1837. "Virginius" appeared in 1820; "William Tell" in 1825; "The Hunchback" in 1832; "The Wife" in 1833, and "The Love Chase" in 1837. His subsequent plays, "Womans Wit," "The Maid of Mariendorpt," "Love," "John of Procida," "Old Maids," "The Rose of Aragon," and "The Secretary" are now seldom performed. Professor Tom Taylor is a prolific writer of plays, and many

* *Les Contemporains*, p. 143.

of them have met with extraordinary success, but it may be questioned whether they will hold a permanent place in the dramatic literature of England. A drama which is in need of stage accessories to give it effect, is not likely to be pleasant reading in the closet. We enjoy Shakespeare independently of the stage; indeed, many able judges have thought that very few actors have succeeded in truly rendering him. But "'Twixt Axe and Crown" requires state pageantry and scenic effects to make it popular; were these absent it is probable Mr. Taylor's play would not please the public. The late Thomas W. Robertson was a man of original talent, and he has the merit of relying upon simple means for his success. He does not require trap doors, calcium lights, sylvan vistas, or gorgeous processions. The dialogue he uses is natural and flowing; there is nothing stilted or artificial in it. In this respect he resembles some of the dramatists of the last century. He has founded a "school" of his own, and the English stage may well regret that he did not live to illustrate it longer. We look upon Sterling Coyne, the Brothers Brough, Mayhew, Dance, and the rest, as mere playwrights, "stage carpenters," and literary pirates, and pass them by. Exception must be made, however, in favor of John Westland Marston, who has written several plays of considerable merit.

The Victorian era has been fertile in great historians. At no previous period of her history has England had so many cotemporaneous distinguished men in this department of learning as during the present. We have before us a list of forty-five names, all of them known to the world, and some of them of the first order. It will suffice to mention Alison, Dr. Arnold, Buckle, Froude, Carlyle, Grote, Hallam, Macaulay, Milman, Merivale, Napier, Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope), Tytler, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson. The great characteristics of these historians are independence of sentiment and truthfulness. With the exception of the first of them, who has disfigured his principal work, the History of Europe, with illiberal and bigoted views of men and politics, they are untrammelled by precedent, and they follow out, each in his own manner, the object proposed. They have given vitality to history. Instead

of making shadowy beings pass before our eyes, they present before us living personages.

"I should very imperfectly execute the task which I have undertaken," says Macaulay,* "if I were merely to treat of battles and sieges, of the rise and fall of administrations, of intrigues in the palace, and of debates in the parliament. It will be my endeavor to relate the history of the people as well as the history of the government, to trace the progress of useful and ornamental arts, to describe the rise of religious sects and the changes of literary taste, to portray the manners of successive generations, and not to pass by with neglect even the revolutions which have taken place in dress, furniture, repasts, and public amusement. I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English of the nineteenth century a true picture of the life of their ancestors."

This is the true object which a historian should set before him, and it is one which has guided the distinguished men before mentioned, as well as the others who have not been mentioned. History in former days may be said to have walked upon stilts. What was called "the dignity of history" was supposed to consist in dealing only with kings, nobles and heroes, revolutions, wars, and intrigues in high places. A chapter or two might, perhaps, be set apart for some notice of the manners and customs of the common people, but this did not form an essential portion of the work: it might be read or not, at the reader's pleasure. Hallam departed widely from this system in his "History of the Middle Ages," and his example has been generally followed by later historians, especially by Macaulay, Carlyle, and Motley. It has been objected to their style that it is neither truly philosophical nor truly artistic:† their aim is to draw a picture but they care little whether it be a refined or a coarse one: they do not stop to discuss probablities, but are always seeking to prove something: they insert dissertations in places where the narrative should remain uninterrupted.

According to this class of critics Macaulay has neither grace, lightness, vivacity, nor finesse: he reduces every thing to common place, and is too much of a partisan, too anxious to

* *History of England*, vol. i, p. 3.

† Taine, *ubi supra*, pp. 223, 259.

overcome his opponents, to manifest the limpid talent of a man who explains and exposes, without any other object than to explain and expose, who sheds light around but no heat. Carlyle is a sort of political phantasmagorist, whose chief object is to astonish by his eccentricity, who is himself one of the "wind-bags" which he is so fond of denouncing. Cloudy obscurity, extravagant metaphor, wordy phrases, and fantastic dreaming, with a slavish admiration of mere might or force, constitute his characteristics. He is the apostle of utter and unreasoning prostration before this power, this sense of the divine presence in the being of every man and every thing, which is, in his view, the true religion of mankind. Creeds are worse than useless; they are shams and snares: they do not make heroes of men, but they chain down the intellect, and degrade our nature. Carlyle breathes freely only in the atmosphere of great crises, such as the French Revolution of 1789, the English civil war, and the Prussian seven years' war. Mirabeau and Danton, Cromwell and Frederic the Second, are the personages he delights in, for they possessed force of will: they were mighty men, and according to him, in the long run, "might is right."*

It is not our object to attempt more than a general review of the Victorian era, and, indeed, the limited space of an article will not admit of an extended criticism on the characteristics of the authors whom we are marshalling in array. It would require volumes to do justice to the subject, and also an amount of critical ability which very few men possess. We must pass over historians of recognized merit, like Massey, Burton, Clinton, Sir John Davis, Miss Strickland, Mrs. Gray, Kinglake, May and Tennent, all of whom are more or less open to the charge of being too matter of fact to be artistic or too partisan to be truly philosophical. Divines and theologians are not expected to be artistic, but they ought to be so far philosophical that their divinity and theology shall not be inconsistent with the "right use of reason." Sixty men of eminence have occupied distinguished positions in the church since Victoria became queen, their marks and their labors have given them

* See his *Hero Worship*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, passim.

fame, yet when we ask what the result is, we get for a reply the distracted condition of the Christian world. It is not for us to say whose is the blame, or whether there is any blame, nor do we pretend to decide between religious disputants, but surely all cannot be in the right. Between Archbishop Manning and James Martineau, Bishop Colenso and Spurgeon, Dr. Newman and Dr. Cumming, Dr. Pusey and Dr. Chalmers, the difference is as great as it is between opposite colors. Every shade of religious belief has its representative in the pulpit and in theological literature. It is not a question now of any one controversy in particular, as there was in the last century between the church and the deists, and between the trinitarians and the unitarians; but there is a general upheaving of creeds. Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman led the way to this in their attempts to revive the rigid observance of the Rubric of the Anglican church. The discussions which produced the Oxford "Tracts" and the "Essays and Reviews" caused many eminent men to go over to the Church of Rome, and others to form the high church party, as opposed to the old latitudinarian and tolerant parties. Broad church and low church now really constitute a different institution from the high church. Dean Stanley, Dr. Hampden, Dr. Hare, Mr. Robinson (of Brighton), Archbishop Whately, Chenevix Trench and Rowland Williams have been among the principal ornaments of the former. They are also distinguished for eminence in other departments of thought and learning; their works testify to their abilities, and are familiar to the reading world.

The influence of the modern German school of biblical criticism is very apparent in them. It has compelled Anglican churchmen to study in earnest the Fathers and the ancient Christian writers; and to make themselves profound scholars. Fifty years ago scholarship was scarcely required of a clergyman of the church of England; a smattering of it sufficed. But the threatened flood of German scepticism made them arm in self-defense, and never has the English church possessed so great a number of really learned men as it does now. Besides those already mentioned there are Drs. Coplestone, Ellicott, Howson, Conybeare, Thirlwall,

Horne, Maurice, Bernard and Marsh. Dr. Kitto and Dean Alford have passed away, so have emotional preachers like Robert Hall and William Jay(among the dissenters); but others like John Angell James, Newman Hall, Candlish, Caird. Muir, Spurgeon and Martineau, outside of the Anglican church are eagerly listened to. The late Cardinal Wiseman was a distinguished scholar as well as an eminent prelate.

The English are accused of being unsentimental, unsympathetic, matter-of-fact, and given to money-making; yet no nation has produced so many poets and so much excellent poetry. There are now living not fewer than seventy persons of English, Irish, or Scotch extraction who profess to be poets, and twenty-five more have died within a few years; so that we may credit Great Britain and Ireland with nearly a hundred poets belonging to the Victorian era. But it grieves us to say that mediocrity is the rule with them. Of those deceased, Mrs. Browning was the only really great genius; though Thomas Hood, Leigh Hunt, Hookham Frere. Keble, W. S. Landor, James Montgomery, Praed, Proctor, Clough, and Barham (Ingoldsby) claim a high place. Of the living, there are but three who are entitled to the foremost seats, viz.: Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, and William Morris. Mrs. Norton. Miss Ingelow, Miss Isa Craig, Swinburn, Patmore, Bulwer (Lord Lytton), and his son "Owen Meredith," Charles Mackay, and one or two more, hold a very respectable position in the ranks of English poets, but they have inherited only a small portion of the divine *afflatus*. Notwithstanding its hundred rhymers, the age of Victoria cannot compete with its marvelous predecessor as regards poetic lustre. The pages of Byron, Scott, Moore, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Campbell, and their contemporaries, teem with great thoughts, nobly and clearly expressed. Their originality is as wonderful as their power, and they are free from petty affectation. Modern poets, however, seek for effect in complicated phraseology and eccentricity; they put obscurity in the place of profundity, and we are therefore frequently reduced to studying out their meaning, which, when found, is often hardly worth the trouble of seeking.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to the merits of the modern poets of Great Britain and Ireland, and reviewers deal with them according to the stand-point from which they view them. The question as to how far obscurity of expression and prolixity of diction should be tolerated has yet to be decided. There are those who consider Browning the greatest poet of the age: they find that he possesses originality, freshness, vigor, clear insight and conception of character, with dignified and sustained eloquence. There are others who think him no poet, and say he is rather a thinker than a singer, and not even a remarkable thinker; that the conception of his larger works is weak and wavering; and that his merits are damaged by the eccentricity and want of beauty of his style, which is abrupt, harsh, full of familiar turns, and yet not familiar in its general structure, spasmodic in its vehemence, and obscure from mere negligence. We are of opinion that much of this criticism is justly applicable to the majority of the Victorian poets. Yet, with all their faults, they are less insipid than those of the last century were in the monotony of their metres and rhymes, with their hackneyed similes and their unmeaning Strephons and Chloes. From this censure of course we except Pope, Goldsmith, Gray, Cowper, Young, and Burns. Tennyson may be taken as the highest type of the living poets. He made his appearance just as the imaginative, sentimental, and "Satanic" schools of the preceding generation were about to close. The grace and elegance of his diction charmed everybody: his portraits of women were exquisite. The Queen of May, Cousin Amy, Adeline, Mariana, Lilian, Lady Clara Vere de Vere, were in everybody's heart. He essayed every style: Locksley Hall, The Sleeping Beauty, Haroun Alraschid, Lady Godiva, The Talking Oak, The Lotos Eaters, and other short poems, exhibited his varied powers and the extreme delicacy of finish of his language, which would be tarnished by the alteration of a single word. His longer poems are unequal, but contain passages of great beauty. Posterity alone can assign him his true position in the world of letters; but the eminent critic already cited makes the following remarks on him, after a careful analysis of his poems:

"*Comment rassembler en quelques mots tous les traits de ce talent si multiple? Il est né poête, c'est-à-dire constructeur de palais aériens et de châteaux imaginaires. Mais la passion personelle et les préoccupations absorbantes qui ordinairement maîtrisent la main de ses pareils lui ont manqué; il n'a point trouvé en lui même le plan d'un édifice nouveau; il a bâti d'après tous les autres; il a simplement choisi parmi les formes ces plus élégantes, les mieux ornées, les plus exquises. Il n'a pris que la fleur dans leurs beautés. C'est tout au plus si, par occasion, il s'est amusé çà et là à arranger quelque cottage vraimant anglais et moderne. Si dans ce choix d'architectures retrouvées ou renouvelées, on cherche sa trace, on la devinera çà et là dans quelque frise plus finement sculptée, dans quelque rosace plus delicate et plus gracieuse; mais on ne la trouvera marquée et sensible que dans la pureté et dans l'élévation de l'emotion morale qu'on emportera en sortant de son musée.*"*

This is the verdict of a learned Frenchman, who finishes by placing Alfred de Musset above Tennyson.† We do not think posterity will confirm this portion of it. We have classed Mr. Tupper among the poets, because he has chosen to dress his "proverbial philosophy" in hexameter verse, but perhaps we owe them an apology for so doing.

Mental philosophy has its eras as poetry has: and the present has seen the revival of the theories of Berkeley in a new form in the hands of John Stuart Mill. One would say that the mediæval contest between Realism and Nominalism had come to life again when we read the works of Sir William Hamilton, Mill, and Herbert Spencer. But Mill has gone further than his predecessors in the daring nature of his speculations in metaphysics and moral philosophy. In his work "On Liberty" he has adopted the tone of some of the most sceptical of the German thinkers in speaking of prevailing systems of religion. Foreigners say that the English philosophers are afraid to carry out their reasonings to their legitimate end; that they dread being thought infidels, and hence are all the while professing themselves Christians to save themselves from obloquy and

---

* Taine, *Les Contemporains*, p. 454.

† Ibid. p. 470.

loss. "Vous avez des savants, vous n'avez pas de penseurs. Votre Dieu vous gêne: il est la cause suprême et vous n'osez raisonner sur les causes par respect pour lui."* But this charge can scarcely apply to men like Professors Jowett and Huxley or Mr. Darwin. The first of these was expelled from his professorship of Greek at Oxford for the freedom with which he spoke about inspiration, creation, and final causes. The other two are so accustomed to the charge of infidelity that they probably have ceased to pay any attention to it. Indeed, it is only the other day that Professor Huxley, in a letter to one of the London papers, asserted his determination to speak as unreservedly as he chose on what are called "sacred" subjects. And those who have read Mill *On Liberty* will remember his analysis of the creed generally accepted by the Christian churches, and his comments upon its defects.† Mill is the latest of the English inductive philosophers and has done as much as any of them to make metaphysics a science. But it may be doubted whether it ever will attain to that dignity. If it should, it will not, it seems to us, be owing to induction.

Experimental philosophy has, in the physical sciences, deduced particular laws from a multitude of instances, and then from these particular laws it has deduced general laws, and so gone on generalizing until it has arrived at real scientific knowledge. But this cannot be done in mental philosophy; for a man can reason only from his own perceptions, and not from those of others except so far as they are recorded in books: and even supposing he could thoroughly master and remember the contents of these books, he would then be acquainted with the experience of only a hundred or two exceptionally constituted human beings, which is by no means a sufficient ground for judging of the mental qualities and powers of the thousands of millions of the race who have appeared and will appear upon the earth.

While these eminent men have been discussing the mental and moral attributes of human nature, others have extended

---

* *Les Contemporains*, p. 332.

† *On Liberty*, pp. 98–101, 119–121.

their researches to the laws which regulate man's social and political existence, and in this branch of literature the Duke of Argyle, Carlyle, Herbert Spencer, Mill, Ricardo, Senior, McCosh, McCulloch, Shuttleworth, Chadwick, and Urquhart have distinguished themselves. Perhaps we ought to add the names of George and Andrew Combe, the earnest advocates of phrenology, a science which has gone somewhat out of fashion, and of Miss Francis B. Cobbe, the champion of "woman's rights."

From metaphysis to the physical sciences is a natural step. The Victorian era has witnessed a wonderful advance in all those branches of science relating to locomotion and international communication. With these are inseparably connected the names of George and Robert Stephenson and Isambard K. Brunel. The first of these was the introducer of the passenger railway system, which now extends all over the civilized world. His son Robert wrote a few pamphlets on engineering, but none of the modern English engineers have contributed much to the literature of their profession. They were and are eminently practical men, and theorizing has not been one of their characteristics. The sister science of architecture has been more fortunate, for it can boast of the works of Ruskin and Pugin on some of its most interesting points, and it has been illustrated in the highest attributes by Sir Charles Barry's great achievement, the Houses of Parliament.

The physical sciences have met with their due share of attention. Astronomy can boast of Sir John Herschel, Lord Rosse, Hind, Pond, Airy, Nichol, Dick, and South, who have largely contributed to the popularization of the science. Mathematics, the concomitant of it, and without which it could make no progress, has made advances in the hands of De Morgan, Babbage, Whewell, Cayley, Barlow and others; but no commanding mathematical intellect, like that of Newton, Leibnitz or Laplace, has appeared in England for more than a century. Geology has been fortunate in its advocates; it has in fact been reduced to a science by Sir Henry De la Beche, Sir Roderic Murchison, Dr. Buckland, Sir Charles Lyell, Hugh Miller, Jukes, Professors John and William Phillips, Waterhouse Hawkins

and Professor Owen. The science of electricity has been closely, investigated and successfully applied in practice by Bain, Cross Snow Harris, and Sir Charles Bright, and the labors of the last named in the development of telegraphy all over the world, have earned for him deserved fame. Optics and other branches of physical science have produced such men as Sir David Brewster, Professors Wheatstone, Huxley, Tyndall and Sedgwick, Darwin, Daniell and Joule. In chemistry the names of Sir Michael Faraday, Ure, Harapath, Richard Phillips, Dr. W. Gregory and Professor Playfair are familiar to the world.

These and many others have greatly enlarged the literature of science. We have before us a list of eighty-six distinguished scientific men; but it is not our intention to go through it, inasmuch as their literary labors are not so important as their investigations. and this is not the place for discussing the latter. must therefore content ourselves with merely mentioning the names of the eminent naturalists Broderip, Bell, Gould and White; the botanists Brown, Hooker, Lindley, Henfrey, Paxton and Mantell; the physiologists Prichard, Carpenter, Roget Queckett, the and surgeons Brodie, Guthrie, Bell and Quain, the medical analysts Chrstison and Jones Quain, and the geographers Gilbert, Johnstone, and Wild.

The mention of geography leads us naturally to the subject of travels, voyages and explorations. And as regards these, England has done more for the advancement of the sciences of geography and history than any other nation during the last thirty-four years. The well known propensity of Englishmen to climb up lofty mountains and to explore unknown depths has been turned to the world's profit in the numerous expeditions and surveys which have been made at the expense of the nation and of private individuals. The annals of Arctic exploration form a literature of their own, whose characteristics are unpretending simplicity and freedom from anything like boasting. They testify to the heroism and powers of endurance of the gallant men who risked their health and their lives for the advancement of knowledge; and also to their piety and resignation under trials which would have broken down the majority of men. The narratives of McClintock, Rae, M'Clure, Parry,

Austin, Belcher, Sir John and Sir James Ross, Pym, Bach, Collinson, Ormanney, and others who went in search of Sir John Franklin, do honor to their manliness and modesty, though they are not otherwise remarkable as literary compositions. Next to Arctic comes African exploration, and here again England bears the palm, and has done so since the days of Bruce, Mungo Park, Denham, Audney, Clapperton, Lauder, and others, of preceding generations.

Victoria's reign has been signalized by the important discoveries made in the geography and the condition of the interior of the vast continent of Africa, by Dr. Livingstone, Sir Samuel and Lady Baker, Burton, Grant, Speke, and their coadjutors; by the Abyssinian expedition, under Sir Robert Napier; and by the researches of Sharpe, Asburn, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson in Egypt. Arabia and Mesopotamia have been explored by Layard, Rawlinson, Hinches, Waghorn, and Chesney, the Red Sea by Sir Edward Belcher, Labuan by Sir James Brooka; Sciode and Afghanistan by Burnes and Elphinstone and expeditions are now exploring the passes of the Himalayes into Thibet, and the route from Birmah to Southern China. Much of this literature is distinguished for learning and for the mass of information contained in it; but we confess to disappointment in the style of the portion of it we have read—not an inconsiderable one; it is frequently hard, dry, inelegant and disjointed. We found it almost impossible to get through Dr. Livingstone's book for this reason.

Any attempt to enumerate the books of travel which have emanated from the British press during the last thirty years would be ridiculous, and any attempt to criticise it in the mass would be equally so. Everybody travels now. It is one of the leading characteristics of the age. Ladies do not hesitate to go into localities the mere mention of which would have horrified their grandmothers. A trip up the Nile is so common as to excite no particular attention. Every part of the world is visited now-a-days, and we have every variety of books on the subject, philosophical, artistic, learned, witty, amusing, commonplace, stupid, absurd. We can make our choice, but we do not at present recall to memory any very recent books

of travel which are on the whole equal to those of Dr. E. D. Clarke, published at the beginning of the present century. He has justly been considered the prince of English travellers, and second only to Humboldt: his style is a model which modern travellers might copy with advantage.

There is one department of literature which has been singularly barren of great works during the Victorian era, and that is jurisprudence. It is not that there has been any want of law books, as far as numbers are concerned, but perhaps it is owing to the incessant changes which have been made, not only in the laws themselves, but in the principles on which they are based, that no really great lawyer has devoted his abilities to the task of expounding them. The Littletons, Cokes, Hales, Blackstones, and Fearnes have given place to special pleaders and dealers in technicalities, whose main object is to explain acts of Parliament, leaving principles to take care of themselves. Yet the two great subjects of medical jurisprudence and international law offer scope for the exercise of the loftiest faculties.

Journalism has its special ornaments, but the editors do not now, as formerly, constitute the strength of the profession. They are content to employ eminent literary men to write for them, and in this way a large proportion of the distinguished writers of the day have been and are also newspaper writers. Thackeray, Dickens, Sala, Lewes, Lowe, Jeaffreson, and others have been journalists. The late Albany Fonblanque, the veteran editor and proprietor of the Examiner, was almost the last who habitually wrote his own editorials. But a new order of men has arisen to whom journalism offers a peculiar career: we allude to "special correspondents" This service of noting down current events from personal observation may be considered a distinct branch of literature; it requires peculiar talents, considerable personal courage and capability of enduring hardships, an intmate knowledge of languages, and power to adapt one's self to the persons one comes in contact with; and the greater amount of information on all subjects possessed by the "special," the more useful he is to his employers. Dr. William H. Russell, of the London Times, and Mr. G. A. Sala, of the

London Daily Telegraph. have achieved considerable celebrity in this department. We should add that veracity and impartiality are indispensable qualities in a special correspondent.

We come lastly to the comprehensive head of general literature, under which we classify all who have not been comprised under the previous heads. The list is a long one;—there being upwards of two hundred names on it; and it includes writers on every topic. At least half of them are of average excellence, and it is reasonable to suppose that at least one-seventh of them have gained a lasting reputation. Several distinguished statesmen have been also distinguished authors. The world scarcely needs to be reminded of Lord Brougham, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir John Bowring, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. D'Israeli, who have also a high reputation for scholarship. Lord Jeffrey, John Wilson ("Christopher North"), Dr. Maginn, Charles Knight, and Robert Chambers, are inseparably mixed up with the best literature of this and the preceding generation De Quincy, Sidney Smith, Lockhart, Talfourd, Mrs. Jamieson, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Gaskell, Mrs. Oliphant, Miss Martineau and Lady Blessington will assuredly be long and gratefully remembered. Among antiquaries the names of Sir Harris Nicholas, Brayley, Britton, Palgrave, and Thomas Wright, stand preëminent; and Lecky, Lewes, and Payne Collier have gained high rank among philosophers and critics.

The reigns of female sovereigns in England have been peculiarly favorable to literature, as those of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria testify. But in the first two the leaders of literature were men of genius who reigned by virtue of the divine light within them. They were a law unto themselves, and spoke their own will only, and not that of those for whom literature was created. Theirs was an empire, but the present age has witnessed the establishment of a republic of letters, which is ruled only by the strong and the capable, who are elected to the place they hold by popular and universal suffrage, and because they know how to give the world what it most wants in the best way. Literature has become a distinct profession which is open to all comers possessing the requisite qualifications. Instead of being confined to a few and produced for a

few, it is now the business of many for the benefit of all who can read. From this number of workers certain names stand out preëminent; these persons are something more than elected leaders; in former days they would have been kings of the world of letters, but now they seem like the loftiest trees of a forest where all the trees are high. It is not so much that modern great men in literature are less than the great men of past time, as that the small men are greater, and instead of standing alone they can only with difficulty make themselves conspicuous among a host of competitors, who have proved that talent and hard work are dangerous rivals to genius. In this respect the Victorian era contrasts favorably with those of Anne and Elizabeth. It has not produced a Shakespeare, a Spenser, or a Bacon, nor a Newton, a Locke or a Pope, but it has produced a crowd of full-sized men who may fairly be weighed against half-a-dozen giants.

Another special feature of the age is, that the world of readers no longer consists only of students and critics. The living world requires to be interested and amused. Men look for their sermons in stories, and are not displeased with stories in their sermons. Hence arises the necessity for a certain lightness and brilliancy of touch on the part of those who provide literary food; and this gives rise to literature of an ephemeral character. Much of what is read to-day has done its work when the day is over, and to-morrow it is read no more. Literary talent has now to be spread over a large surface, rather than to go very deep or soar very high; but it brings the thoughts of the best minds and the strength of the best hands into close and immediate relation with all classes, even down to the very poorest, and thus produces a healthy atmosphere, and leavens the world with what is needed by an age that lives too intensely and works too hard. Public opinion has thereby been exalted and purified, and modern literature is the voice of the day as well as its food.

The energy thus developed produces, along with much that is ephemeral, much that is great, both in quantity and quality. Putting aside press and magazine literature, which are the special and peculiar developments of the present conditions of

literary demand and supply, and which usefully absorb much of the talent which in former times might either have been lost altogether or have been fruitlessly expended, there are poets, novelists, and cultivators of the more purely artistic fields of literature, who, as a body, will bear comparison with their fellows at any other period; and they have the advantage of being appreciated now, instead of having to appeal to posterity. Never has literature been so well remunerated as it is now. Never before has it absorbed into its service so much skill, energy, and talent of every kind, or applied them to such practical uses. As the world goes on, it will probably be governed less and less by men of action and men of words, and more and more by men of thought and of the pen. It is surely a higher position for literature to take, to mould and govern men in the daily life of the world, than to confine itself to being the means of raising a few men to fame. Nothing need be lost, and everything may be gained, by the popularization of literature; and it is to have done this, and not to have talked or dreamed about it, that will be the chief, though not the only, glory of the literary history of the present age. It has made cheap what is good, and it has made the profession of literature an open field, in which each man may find the career that suits him, and in which the best man will win.

ART. VII.—*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley; comprising the results of extensive original Surveys and Explorations.* By E. G. SQUIER, A. M., and E. H. DAVIS, M.D. 4to. 1848.

2. *Archæology of the United States; or Sketches, historical, and bibliographical, of the Progress of Information and Opinions respecting Vestiges of Antiquity in the United States.* By S. F. HAVEN. 4to.

3. *A Guide to Northern Antiquities.* By M. THOMSEN. London. 1837.

4. *Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries* at Zurich.
5. *Palafittes, or Lacustrian Constructions of the Lake of Neuchatel.* By E. DESOR; *with Designs by* PROFESSOR A. FAVRE GUILLARMOD. Smithsonian Report. 1865.

IT is not a little curious that mankind should have ever come to the conclusion, necessarily from the most insufficient reasons, that the human race, and even the earth itself, have been in existence only six or seven thousand years. Several of the most enlightened ancient nations endeavored to show that their origin dated back to an age extremely remote, and that they were even descended from the gods. Whilst on the one hand these people tried to carry their origin back beyond what, perhaps, the data would warrant, Christian nations have ever been disposed to discard all true evidence—that which is derived from nature herself—and to accept such as rests on a most slender and tottering foundation. Several decades have now passed by since the geologist was able to show that the earth must have been in existence, and been in the process of formation, for an immense number of ages;* but it was only quite recently that the man of science was actually driven to the conclusion that the human race dates its origin back several thousand years, at least, beyond the limits which were formerly supposed to bound it.

It is not altogether an uncommon thing to see two persons who make different sciences their principal study, differ considerably in relation to each other's conclusions respecting the antiquity of man and the universe, especially if their minds have previously been under the influence of some theological cosmogony. When the human mind has once settled down on some hypothesis as being the correct expression of nature's operations, it is a very difficult thing for it to surmount the barrier thus voluntarily raised to its progress. Significant facts are either disregarded, or they are supposed to lead to conclusions different from what is actually correct. But there seem to be always some minds that view things in nearly their true

* For an account of the progress made by geologists in deciphering the "evidence of the rocks," see the National Quarterly Review, No. XLIII., Art V

light; that gather up the cast-aside facts, compare them with one another, and with the known processes of nature, and thus deduce results that at first startle the world (and really *move* it, in a manner, perhaps, little thought of by Archimedes), not so much by their novelty as being at variance with certain preconceived views which were supposed to rest on an unshaken foundation, but which now are opposed by conclusions legitimately drawn from the facts of nature. But the feeling of opposition to the new conclusions gradually wears away, and soon the wonder is not so much that some acute minds saw these things, but rather that they were not seen before. We never can know what is behind the glass by simply seeing those things which are before it reflected from its face.

Still we all practice to a greater or less extent reasoning from the known to the unknown. We form many opinions by indirect means, and this question should always be foremost in our minds: Are our data sufficiently numerous and sufficiently reliable to make our conclusions perfectly satisfactory? The student or savant, whichever we call him, elaborates his doctrines by this same process. "He begins by observation, which he combines with experiment, when he can modify the circumstances under which the phenomena observed are produced; he then classifies, co-ordinates, compares his first results, in order to understand them more fully; and finally, ascending from effects to causes, he arrives at the great principles, the laws which govern nature." The science of geology furnishes us with one of the most striking examples of the application of this process of reasoning. Man has thus been enabled to reconstruct the history of our globe from its earliest periods up to the appearance of the human race. For many years it was thought that human investigation founded on such data should rest here. But we may ask why? Is not man as much a part of nature as the brute that roams over the earth? And is he not subject to similar laws?

Although it was once thought that our knowledge of the human periods must be sought in written records, or oral traditions, yet man has now learned to search for facts wherever they may be found. The earliest period of the human race,

or that extending from the first appearance of man, when it would appear that he was raised but little above the brute which disputed with him the possessions of the cave that sheltered them, up to the time when language was sufficiently developed to enable one generation to hand down to another the traditions received from a preceding one, must have been of immense length. The invention of writing belongs to a later period. Before this where was history?

The origin of writing is not extremely obscure, thus showing us that history does not date very far back. It is not thus with spoken language, for its origin is at present beyond the reach of human investigation. The study of it teaches us that it was very slowly and gradually developed, starting from a rudimentary beginning which must have corresponded with an equally rudimentary state of intelligence among the people that used it. Indeed, the fact that we cannot in memory revert to the moment of our birth, is strong evidence that tradition cannot ascend to the origin of our species. To the man that lived during this early period of the human race, we may say in the language of the poet's "Address to a Mummy,"

> "Antiquity appears to have begun
> Long after thy primeval race was run."

Many questions here arise respecting the duration of this pre-traditional period, but the answer which science gives us are of a doubtful character. There is but one, and that is quite indefinite on which much reliance can be placed, and from that we learn that the period was long, very long. This, and the next succeeding period, or the pre-historical, have been called high antiquity. In southern Europe, chronological history extends back several centuries prior to the Christian era; but for that part north of the Alps, history begins with the Roman invasion, which corresponds very nearly with the Christian era.

Notwithstanding the fact that we know so little historically of the periods called high antiquity, yet we fortunately have sufficient materials to enable us to construct almost a connected account of the material conditions and the mental and physical habits of those early and possibly primitive human inhabitants

of our planet. But, from what has already been said, it is evident that these researches must deal exclusively with material objects, and we must in a certain sense reanimate them and compel them to speak, as the geologist has made the fossil, which has lain buried in the solid rock for myriads of years, give utterance to a language that can scarcely be misunderstood. Our studies on the development of this early civilization cannot include speech, for not a trace of this is left. "We can, in a certain measure, see our ancestors," says M. Morlot, "but we cannot hear them. We must be content to gaze at them as at so many shadows."

The constitution of the human mind must be the same wherever found, the difference which we observe in individuals and in nations seems to be owing mainly to a difference in the development of the fundamental capacities inherited from nature. Admitting this principle to be correct, we may observe the habits of those tribes, in different parts of the world, that still have made little or no progress in civilization, and thus learn much respecting the modes of life of those people that we must regard as our ancestors.

We shall confine ourselves in this paper principally to the study of the remains of the primitive inhabitants of the Europe north of the Alps. A prejudice in favor of the belief that all things skilfully wrought, especially objects in metal, must be of Roman origin, has long retarded the progress in these researches that otherwise would have been made. Geology had a similar trial when it was considered that all fossils were only vestiges of the deluge.* Similar isconceptions prevailed in Demark and in the south of Sweden, where an abundance of antiquities, such as flint axes and similar instruments are found. According to some, these were sacrificial instruments used in the time of heathenism; and, according to others, they were thunderbolts, a strange and preposterous idea. But the fossil called belemites was once supposed to have a similar origin.

But, as we have said, there are some minds that seem to be free from these notions that influence to so great an extent the

* N. Q. Review, No. XLIII., Art. V.

mass of mankind. Mr. Thomsen, director of the archæological museum at Copenhagen, and Mr. Nilsson, professor of zoology at the University of Lund, in Sweden, were of this class of minds. These illustrious antiquarians of northern Europe began by comparing the antiquities of their own country with the industrial productions of the more or less savage tribes of Australasia and other regions of the globe. Here was at once discovered a remarkable analogy between the flint instruments of northern Europe and the implements of existing tribes not yet advanced to a knowledge of the use of metals. MM. Thomsen and Nilsson also observed that a whole series of tombs of a similar character contained, besides skeletons and some rude pottery, implements of stone only, without the least trace of metal. This circumstance at once suggested that the earliest inhabitants of these regions were wholly unacquainted with the use of metal, and that they were not altogether unlike the savages of the present day, so far as what relates to the habits of every-day life. Another class of tombs contained cutting implements and arms of metal, such as knives, axes, swords and spear heads; but this metal was neither iron nor steel, but bronze, a compound of tin and copper. We infer from this that iron was then unknown, for otherwise it would certainly have been used in preference to bronze. The use of iron finally succeeded that of bronze. These facts teach us that what iron is to the civilized man of to-day, and what it has been for long ages, bronze once was, and previously to that, stone (principally flint) was used for similar purposes.

The facts which we have ow given, led to the division of man's development into three distinct periods or ages, viz: first, the age of stone; next, the age of bronze, and, lastly, the age of iron. This classification, as M. Morlot observes, is similar to Werner's division of the geological formations into primary,

---

*Thomsen and Nilsson did not publish their results till several years after having arrived at them. Mr. Thomsen published a paper in 1832, and afterwards a general treatise, *Ledetraad til Nordisk Old Kyndighed Kjoebenhavn*, 1836. This was published in English by Lord Ellesmere in 1837, under the title "A Guide to Northern Antiquities." Nilsson published *Scandanaviska nordens urinvonare*, at Lund, 1838-1843.

secondary, and tertiary. It was introduced about forty years ago.* This division of the pre-historical development of the mental powers of man into the three ages of stone, bronze, and iron, has had a most marked influence for good on the progress of European archæology.

The art of producing fire must be regarded as among the greatest achievements of the human intellect. The uses of fire lie at the foundation of nearly all kinds of human industry. Indeed, a little reflection will convince us that without it, starting even from our advanced state in the development of the resources of nature, we should be obliged to return again in many things to the habits of the savage. It scarcely seems probable that, without it, man would have arisen much above the condition of the brute. Prometheus, as we learn from ancient mythologic story, climbed the heavens by the assistance of Minerva, and stole fire, which Jupiter had entirely removed from the earth, from the chariot of the sun, and again returned with it for the use of mankind.

It appears that the earliest settlers in Europe brought with them the art of producing fire. This might have been done by striking iron pyrites against quartz or flint, but it does not seem that this was perhaps often done.* The more usual mode probably was by the rubbing of two sticks together. Accident may have led to the discovery of producing fire by this means, by drawing, for some purpose, a dry piece of wood, of considerable weight, over another. Notwithstanding these possible ways obtain to fire, man more probably saw it first developed by lightning and volcanic action. These considerations lead us to conclude that there was a period, perhaps of great length, when man was unacquainted with the uses of fire, and yet he was, not unlikely, occasionally acquainted with fire itself. Man's power over nature to cause her at his bidding to yield up her hidden forces, so that he might use them for his convenience and comfort, we know from experience, must have been acquired by degrees that were extremely slow. Knowledge

* Weddell found this practised by some tribes in Terra del Fuego. "A Voyage towards the South Pole in 1822-24," p. 167.

we know is power; and where man possesses but very little of the former, he can have but extremely little of the latter, and his progress must be correspondingly slow. M. Flourens thinks that because man was for a long time ignorant of the uses of fire, the so-called cradle of the human race was in a warm climate.*

The transition from stone to bronze as materials for the manufacture of arms and cutlery tools, is really a great step in the progress of the arts. Bronze is an alloy of about nine parts of copper and one of tin. It must not be confounded with brass, which is a compound of copper and zinc. Bronze melts and moulds well, and it is still used for making bells, cannon, certain parts of machinery, and statues. Molten bronze, in cooling slowly, acquires a degree of hardness that adapts it tolerably well to the manufacture of edge-tools, though much inferior to steel, but superior to pure iron. Besides being used for implements that were practically useful, it was adapted by its color and appearance, when polished, to being converted into ornaments to be worn about the person.

The bronze articles of the age which we are now considering, were not, with a few exceptions, produced by hammering, but were cast, and the hammer (made of stone) was simply used to give to the edge of the tool a greater degree of hardness. The casting was done with a considerable degree of skill. Even the sword-blades were cast.†

During the bronze-age, therefore, there was conducted a mining industry which must have been completely wanting during the age of stone. "Now, the art of mining," says M. Morlot, "is so essential to civilization, that without it the world would perhaps yet be exclusively inhabited by savages." It was not very difficult to obtain copper, since it is not unfrequently found pure. Besides, the different kinds of ore which contains

---

* *De la Longevité Humaine*, Paris, 1855, p. 127. Man was primitively frugivorous, like the monkey, as is indicated by the structure of his teeth, his stomach, and his intestines; but this confined him to those regions where fruit is produced at all seasons. The art of cooking has made him a cosmopolitan.

† *General Views on Archæology*, by A. Morlot, of Lausanne, Switzerland. Smithsonian Report for 1860, p. 287.

copper, are either highly colored or present an easily-distinguished metalic appearance, and may, therefore, be easily known. Once known they are easily smelted so as to obtain the metal. Finally, copper ore is not scarce. But it is quite otherwise with tin. The ore itself is scarce. and pure tin is seldom or never found in a native state. The ore is of a dark color and is easy to smelt. The principal mines in Europe, which produce tin at the present day, are those of Cornwall, in England, and of the Erzgebirge and Fichtelgebirge, in Germany.

The question has arisen whether there was not a copper age that immediately preceded that of bronze. The scarcity of tin would lead us to conclude that such was probably the case. The fact, however, that but very few copper implements of any kind have yet been found in Europe, teaches us that if there was any period there that might be called a copper-age, it was of very short duration.* In this country there really did exist a copper-age. The researches of Squire and Davis brought to light an ancient civilization distinguished by the use of pure copper, worked in a cold state by hammering without the aid of fire.†

The period succeeding the age of bronze, has been called, as we have said, the iron-age. The earth never yields iron in its pure state, that is, as a metal. Indeed, its liability to oxydation would prevent this even if other causes did not operate. But among the aerolites which come to us from the regions of space some of them are composed of pure iron, or at most contain in addition only a small amount of nickel.‡

The large meteoric mass met with by Pallas in Siberia, was found by the neighboring blacksmiths to be malleable in a cold state.§ This mass weighed sixteen hundred pounds. It is not

---

* "Experiments Relative to the Meteorites," by M. Daubreé. *Annals des Mines, Paris*, 1868. Smithsonian Report for 1868, p. 316. Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. 4. p. 593.

† Copper hatchets have been found in the Danish peat. *Lyell's Antiquity of Man*, p. 11.

‡ *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.*

§ *Voyages en Russie* tome iv., p. 595, Paris, 1793.

altogether improbable that masses of meteoric iron, which the ancients could scarcely fail to meet with, and with a metalic appearance that would attract their attention to its usefulness, first suggested to them the idea of employing that metal. Amerigo Vespucci speaks of savages near the mouth of the La Plata in South America, who had arrow heads which had been manufactured from iron derived from an areolite.* Iron is found in most countries, but it usually has the appearance of stone, being distinguished neither by its weight nor color. This circumstance renders it probable that it may have been sometimes employed as stone around a fire, and its metalic properties thus discovered. M. Marlot says that the mining engineers in Carinthia, Austria, communicated to him the discovery in that region, of traces of "a most primitive method" of producing iron from the ore. The process seems to have been the following: "On the declivity of a hill an excavation was dug, in which was lighted a large fire. When this began to subside, fragments of very pure ore (hydroxyd) were thrown into it and covered by a new heap of wood. When all the fuel had been consumed, small lumps of iron would then be found among the ashes."† This process was very simple because it dispensed with all blowing apparatus.

On the Danish coast, in certain places, heaps are found, in some cases of enormous dimensions, of marine shells, which were at first mistaken for natural deposits, which seemed to indicate that formerly the relative height of the dry land and sea was different from what it is at present. On examining more closely, however, these heaps of shells, there were found in them broken bones of various wild animals, including among them some species now extinct. There were also splinters of silex, roughly fashioned instruments of the same material, very coarse pottery, charcoal and cinders. Thorough and minute examinations disclosed the fact that there was a complete absence of all kinds of metal used for cutting tools, and of the remains of all domestic animals except, perhaps, the dog.

---

* *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. ii., art. 8, p. 289.

† *General Views on Archæology*. Smith. Report for 1860, p. 289.

These heaps contain unmistakable evidence of the refuse of repasts, which is mixed confusedly with the remains of the mechanical contrivances of the primitive people that resorted, in remote antiquity, to the sea shore to obtain fish and game to subsist on. These refuse and remnants, which must have been accumulating throughout many centuries, the Danes have named *Kjoekkenmoedding*, or kitchen refuse heaps.* We have not space to enter into details respecting these refuse heaps, which possess a high order of interest for antiquaries and naturalists, who have accordingly given much time and attention to a thorough examination of them.†

The remains of implements in these refuse-heaps teach us that although they accumulated during the stone-age, yet they do not belong to the earliest part of that period. The stone hatchets and knives had been sharpened by rubbing, which was in this respect at least one degree less rude than those of an older date, which are found associated in France with the bones of certain extinct mammalia. This earlier part of the stone-age, when man seems to have been perfectly savage, and inhabited caves (some of which now contain his remains) in the cold season of the year at least, is of *higher* antiquity than we proposed to treat in this article.

The mounds vary in height from three to ten feet, and in area they are variable according to circumstances, some of them having a length of a thousand feet, and a width from one hundred and fifty to two hundred. They are seldom placed more than ten feet above the level of the sea, and usually they are close upon its borders. At certain points, they are met with at a distance as great as two geographical miles from the shore as it now exists, but in such cases it is known that the

* Lyell's *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, p. 12. Morlot's *General Views on Archæology*, p. 292. Similar heaps exist near the sea shore in Massachusetts and in Georgia. Lyell, p. 12. They also exist in New Jersey, Florida, and along the Tennessee river and its tributaries. They are also found on the coast of Nova Scotia. See the Smithsonian Report for 1866, p. 356; for 1863, p. 270.

† The reader will find a pretty full account of these heaps and the deductions in relations to them, in M. Morlot's *General Views on Archæology*, translated and published in the Smithsonian Report for 1860, pp. 284–343.

dry land has made encroachments on the sea. This fact, and also the circumstances that they are wanting on those parts of the coast bordering on the Western Ocean, or where the waves are slowly wearing away the land, attest the great antiquity of these refuse-heaps.

The shells consist entirely of living species—the oyster, the cockle, the muscle, the lithrine, still eaten by man, and a few others. These four species, which are here referred to in the order of their frequency, are all represented by individuals generally large and of vigorous development. This circumstance, and the fact that the same species now inhabiting those waters from which they must have been taken in primitive times, do not attain to more than about one-third of their original size, add another striking proof of the great antiquity of the Danish shell-mounds. Still another strong proof of the high antiquity of the stone-age, is found in this: the dry land produced and supported extensive pine forests at that period, or rather during the former part of it. Their trunks are now found in a recumbent position, some of them attaining a diameter of three feet, with a corresponding length, "and their magnificent stature proves on the one hand that they found conditions of existence favorable to their growth, and on the other that they grew very closely together, forming forests of pure species, unmixed with any others; for when pine trees are not thus closely arranged, they do not arrive at this straight and tall stature"* In ascending through the Skovmose, or forest-bogs, where the remains of these trees are found, the pine gradually disappears and is succeeded by the oak, which finally prevails exclusively. Here again, we find the climate and soil well adapted to the vigorous growth of *these* trees, for their trunks sometimes attained a diameter of four feet. The latter part of the stone-age corresponded with the earlier part of the period of the oak forests. A few scattering oaks are still found in Denmark, but they seem in a fair way to disappear. As the oak began to disappear, the beech took its place till it became the distinguishing tree

* Morlot, *Bulletin de la Société Vaudoise des Sci. Nat.*, tome VI. p. 292.

of the forest. The iron-age and the period of the beech tree more nearly corresponded with each other. *

Now, the bronze-age is entirely beyond the reach of history or tradition. The stone-age and the period of the pine must have reached back many centuries antecedent to the use of bronze. The oak forests succeeded the pine; the beech forests succeeded the oak, and yet, during the time of the Romans, the Danish Isles were covered, as now, with magnificent beech forests—eighteen centuries scarcely modifying in the least the character of the forest vegetation. How many centuries before this the beech first made its appearance, and how many previous to that the oak began to supplant the pine, we could not even offer a probable conjecture. Yet man roamed through those old pine forests many centuries, perhaps we may say very many, before the oak made its appearance. The peat-bogs, where these trees are imbedded, required, according to Steenstrup, at least four thousand years; "and there is nothing in the observed rate of the growth of peat opposed to the conclusion that the number of centuries may not have been four times as great, even though the signs of man's existence have not been traced down to the lowest or amorphous stratum. As to the 'shell-mounds,' they correspond in date to the older portion of the peaty record, or to the earliest part of the age of stone as known in Denmark."†

Sweden and Denmark are not the only places where the remains of human arts and mechanical labors are found. Numerous places in Europe are distinguished as containing relics of primitive man. The great number of these antiquities which have been found around and in the Swiss lakes, have attracted the particular attention of many of the ablest and most learned in that country.

During the winter of 1853-54, a remarkable depression was discovered in the level of the lake of Zurich. A large surface

* Morlot. Vegetation as well as animals has the power of adapting itself to circumstances. A tree that grows in such a situation as to be exposed to heavy winds, extends its roots wider and does not attain so great a height as in places where it is protected, other considerations being equal.

† Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, p. 17.

being thus laid bare by the retreat of the waters, the inhabitants resolved to take advantage of it and construct dykes considerably in advance of the ancient water line, and they thus acquired extensive tracts which were before submerged. Near Meilen, the laborers occupied in constructing the embankment, discovered under a bed of mud nine or ten inches in depth, some piles, stones blackened by fire, small pieces of charcoal, bones, and various utensils which indicated the site of an ancient village. Dr. Ferdinand Keller, president of the Archaeological Society of Zurich, learning about these discoveries, undertook the examination of these remains. In the spring of 1854, he published a first report respecting this important discovery. It has long been known to the Swiss people living upon the shores of the lakes in that country, that there existed in many of them ancient piles, or posts, which, though they did not reach the surface of the water, rose to a height above the bottom of one or two feet. In the lake of Neuchatel, they were especially known to the fishermen who dreaded them on account of the injury which they caused their nets. The oldest inhabitants being unable to give any account of their origin, the general conclusion was that "all this must be very ancient." Several times, there had been drawn from the ooze of the lake, at low water, large horns of the deer, and curious utensils whose origin was not known. These things were noticed at the lake of Zurich in 1829, and afterwards at the lake of Bienne. * Facts like these, as above related, becoming known to the scientific mind of Dr. Keller, soon bore fruit that aroused the antiquarian spirit in Switzerland, and brought to the field numerous able and learned men who have made us acquainted with a world that has lain buried there for thousands of years.

Besides the posts, somewhat decayed, and the other things to which we have already referred, some fragments of rude pottery were found, which were evidently very ancient, but not of Roman manufacture, since it was black, imperfectly baked,

* Desor's *Lacustrian Constructions of the Lake of Neuchatel*, Smith. Report for 1865, p. 349.

and shaped by the hand without the aid of the potter's wheel. All these things recalled to mind the objects which the Scandinavian antiquaries had brought to light; and the general inference was that these remains of art must be of very high antiquity. What had escaped all notice before, was the relation which these objects bear to one another, and especially to the piles which there exist. Besides, the arms and pottery are not scattered at random, but they are confined to a stratum about two feet in thickness, which is termed the *archæological stratum*. Moreover, they are accumulated around the piles, and diminish in quantity as they are more distant from them, and finally they entirely disappear. Thus was a connection between these objects established by the observations and deductions of Dr. Keller. Subsequent investigations led to the conclusion that the piles had been driven where they are now found, and that they were anciently above the water, and were used to support habitations or storehouses. The number of scattered utensils corresponding to the thickness of the bed which contains them, proves that the sojourn of the people that constructed these lacustrian habitations, was continued through a long period of time.

The earliest historical account of such lake-dwellings we find in Herodotus,* who gives an account of a Thracian tribe that dwelt in the year 520 B.C., in Prasias, a small mountain-lake of Paconia, now a part of Modern Roumelia. The father of medicine informs us that the "Riparians of Pharos lived in marshes, where they inhabited houses of wood and of reeds

* Book V., Sec. 16. The people who lived on the Prasian lake, the Persian general, Megabyrus, was not able to subdue. "They who lived upon the lake," says the father of history, "in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt." "In this lake strong piles are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were, in former times, made at public expense; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man, for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality), to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from the mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally upon fish."

above the water, traversing the river in pérogues."* It is also known that the inhabitants of New Guinea have constructed similar habitations.

After the publication of Dr. Keller's first report,† other Swiss antiquaries began to seek for piles in the other lakes of Switzerland. They were soon found, for the fisherman could almost everywhere point them out; and these piles in their turn served as valuable guides, as in the first instance, in conducting to unexpected and important discoveries. With a single exception, no object in metal had been found at Meilen, but only those made of bone and stone. In other places, and especially in the lakes of eastern Switzerland, stations were found furnishing objects like those collected at lake Zurich, and also others that yielded utensils in bronze instead of stone. These objects indicated a much more advanced state of civilization. Thus several phases are to be distinguished in the lacustrian period. The Swiss, like the Scandinavian antiquaries, have divided the period of the lake-dwellings into three distinct ages, namely, the stone-age, the bronze-age, and the iron-age. The interest and activity of the Swiss archæologists have been the means of giving to the world numerous well-written works‡ on the remains of ancient civilization in that country, which contain a vast amount of information on the subject, besides diffusing a taste for the study of the old Helvetian world, "scarcely resuscitated from the tomb of unrecorded centuries."

Since it must have been very difficult, if not impossible,

---

* Hippocrates, *Opera Omnia*, Ed. Kuhn, I., p. 551.

† Published in the Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries, at Zurich, 1854.

‡ *Habitations lacustres des temps anciens et modernes*, by F. Troyon, Lausanne, 1860. *Etudes Geologico-Archæologiques en Danemark et en Suisse*, by A. Morlot, 1860. *Die Pfahlbanten in den Schweizerseen*, by M. Schaub, 1864. Dr. Keller's numerous reports; the work of M. Desor, and others. We must not omit to mention that the Smithsonian Institution, besides publishing several very able archæological and ethnological works as part of its "Contribution to knowledge," has published in the appendices to its annual reports to Congress, translations of a large number of the continental European works on the subject of archæology, and it has thus done much towards making the people in this country acquainted with the progress of research in Europe.

for the pre-historic inhabitants of Switzerland to construct habitations on the water by driving piles down on which the fabrics rested for a foundation, we may ask if the waters of the lakes were not then at a lower level than at present, having since, by some natural means, been dammed up. As yet we have no means of knowing whether the level of the lakes is the same now as anciently or not; but since the phenomenon of lake-dwellings is general in that country, we are not at liberty to suppose that *all* the lakes have had their outlets obstructed, and we are thus reduced to the inevitable conclusion that the lacustrian habitations were actually built above the water of the lakes. The piles have in general a diameter too small "to have supported constructions at all massive; there can be no question here, but of cabins of very frail character."*

It is not difficult to conceive the principal reason why the ancient tribes of Helvetia chose to erect their places of abode over the water of the lakes where the depth would permit, rather than to place them on terra firma. Previous to the Roman epoch, the valleys of the Alps were covered with immense forests through which roamed the wolf, the bear, the urus, and other formidable animals; and not forgetting the natural propensity of different tribes to war with one another, man was himself, probably, more to be dreaded than the beasts of the forest. One tribe thus in endeavoring to secure themselves against the unexpected attack of another, could select no securer asylum than the one which was chosen.

The lake of Neuchatel has the prerogative among the lakes of Switzerland of comprising stations of the three ages, thus affording an opportunity of tracing within a moderate compass the development of humanity through a long succession of centuries preceding historical times.

The arms of the stone-age are lances of silex, most of which are elaborated with extraordinary care, showing great dexterity in the art of cutting stone. Arrows of a triangular shape also are found, frequently provided with barbs to render

* Desor. The reader will find a figure in Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, illustrating the appearance of these habitations.

them still more formidable. In some cases, traces of the cement which united them to the stock are observed. Arrow points made of bone are also found, but these are much rarer. The bow for these arrows was of yew, specimens of which, in good pre servation, are found at several stations. Another weapon, more primitive and more formidable, is a stag's horn converted into a club by retaining the brow antler. The long bones of certain animals, as the cow and the hog, are also converted into pointed instruments, which might have served for various purposes.

The tools found are the hammer, some of which are nicely finished. The shape of some of them is not very different from the spike-hammer now employed by ship and boat builders. They are made of hard stone, usually serpentine, having a hole to insert a handle. Hatchets are quite numerous. The cutting part was made of hard stone, fitted to a socket of buck-horn, and this was attached to a handle of wood. The complete instrument is very rarely found, though Dr. Clement, says M. Desor, has one of the most complete specimens in existence. Chisels or paring-knives are also found.

The untensils to which we have already referred, are known and employed by nearly all savage tribes; but the lacustrian inhabitants of Switzerland have left behind them specimens of the beginnings of an art, which indicate the dawn of civilization. They manufactured pottery, rude and shapeless to some extent, yet possessing much interest from its composition and dimensions. It consists principally of large protuberant vessels fashioned with the hand. the potter's wheel being, as we have said, unknown. The paste of which the earthenware is composed, is rather heterogeneous, gray or black but never red, and always intermixed with small silicious pebbles, very probably to guard against the defects of unequal and imperfect baking. When silex could not be readily obtained, they employed limestone, sometimes pieces of shell, and occasionally charcoal. The marks of the fingers are not unfrequently distinguished, especially at the base. These prints are so small as to lead to the conclusion that the lacustrians were of a diminutive race, or the vessels were made by woman—a thing not

improbable. These jars probably served for the preservation of food.

The stones (or mills) used for grinding, some of which have a diameter of nearly two feet, are found in considerable numbers in the tenevieres (or submerged hillocks), and they indicate that the grain was triturated by the help of rounded pestles. These were of granite or grit, but never of limestone. It is not a little curious that the bread made from the meal produced by these simple and primitive machines, has been preserved by carbonization. The remains of cereals are not wanting, showing that the ground was not left uncultivated. Fine grains of wheat have been found, carbonized like the peat which surrounds them. The conditions are so favorable to the preservation of vegetable products at the stations of eastern Switzerland, and especially that of Robenhausen, on lake Pfaefikon, that it has been possible to collect fruits of many kinds—apples, cherries, beech-nuts, seeds of the strawberry and raspberry, and large quantities of the water chestnut. The grain is so imperfectly crushed in the bread which has been preserved that it is possible to distinguish the kind of cereal of which it is composed. Some bread was made of wheat, and some has been found that was made of millet. *

We have been more particular in our account of the remains of the age of stone, than we shall have space to be in relation to the age of bronze or that of iron, since we wished to show more especially what man was obliged to resort to at the very dawn of civilization. When an idea of something better is once conceived of, half the labor of making it practically useful is already done.

A difference between the remains of the age of stone and those of the age of bronze, that is at once noticed, is that the latter are more extensive and more numerous and are found at a greater distance from the shore. During the age of bronze it is thought very probable that the lacustrian fabrics were no longer used as dwellings to any great extent, but merely served as magazines or store-houses.

---

* See Smithsonian Report for 1865, pp. 361–5.

The change from stone to bronze is so abrupt that it seems highly probable that it was brought about by invasion. The people who employed bronze implements seem to have burned the dwellings and massacred the inhabitants of the lacustrian villages of the age of stone. The former having made greater advances in the arts, and their axes of metal and implements of war being more effectual in battle than those constructed of stone, bone and horn, the latter were probably subdued without difficulty.

Nearly all the remains of implements of all kinds, the pottery and whatever seemed most useful to the people of the bronze-age, show a much greater skill and consequent advance in the arts of civilized life, than is exhibited by those of the age of stone. This progress is due without doubt to the introduction and use of metal. Thus the industrial arts commenced: and there is no doubt that, as soon as the necessaries of life, for that stage of civilization, were provided for, luxury made its appearance; and the ornaments and attire which have been preserved prove that the artists of that remote epoch possessed both taste and skill.

The age of iron succeeded. The progress made in the age of bronze, served, without doubt, as a basis for still farther advances in the arts and refinements of civilization. This age is characterized by the appearance of iron and its general use for arms, utensils, and, in some cases, objects of apparel; the application of peculiar processes in the manufacture of swords of iron; a particular system of ornamentation quite different from that used in the bronze-age, consisting especially of figures applied to the sheaths of swords; the appearance of coins with an effigy; the use of clasps of iron with a spiral spring; and wrought bronze introduced into general use.* The iron-age still continues, and the greatest achievements ever accomplished by man in the arts of sciences, and in promoting the moral and intellectual advancement of the race, belong to this age. It is really the "golden age," dreamed of by the poets.

According to Dr. Rütimeyer "the builders of the palisade

* M. Desor, Smith. Report for 1865, p. 398.

habitations could not have arrived in Switzerland before the glacier era, which forced the elephant and rhinoceros far down into Africa, and drove the marmot and the reindeer into the Swiss lowlands. But when middle Europe was warmed up again by summer days, a repopulation by a partly new fauna and flora took place upon the ground where, before the reign of the glaciers, the anerox and those large pachyderms had been grazing together. At this time man made his appearance, accompanied by the dog, the goat, the sheep, the domesticated anerox, and the turf cattle; the latter he may have introduced already tamed, or he may have tamed it after he had found it there in a wild state."*

It would be interesting if we could determine in centuries, when each of the ages, into which pre-historical civilization in Europe has been divided, began; but this is at present impossible, and it seems likely ever to remain so. Still some approximation to a minimum limit has been reached. The torrent of the Tiniere, where it flows into the lake of Geneva, at Villeneuve (Switzerland), forms a cone or delta. A railroad has been constructed across the cone, and M. Morlot has taken advantage of this circumstance to examine the sections. He finds traces of three distinct epochs, distinctly superposed—the Roman epoch, the bronze epoch, and the epoch of the age of stone, each represented by an ancient stratum. By comparing the depth of each of these he has been led to the conclusion that the bronze age has an antiquity of from *twenty-nine to forty-two centuries;* and the age of stone, one from *forty-seven to seventy centuries.*

The subject of races is attracting much attention, and fortunately skulls of the age of stone are well preserved. In the North, people in the age of bronze usually burned their dead, and skulls are scarce; but in the age of iron, inhumation was again practised, and skulls of this age can be readily collected. Thus, we have seen the struggles of man in the earlier ages of his existence as a race, to gain a mastery over nature, so as to employ her forces for his happiness.

---

* Smith. Report for 1866, p. 367.

ART. VIII.—*Message of the Mayor to the Common Council of the City of New York, with Accompanying Documents.* June, 1871.

ALL these documents reach us precisely at that stage of our quarterly labors when we have least time for research or examination. But fully recognizing their importance, we prefer giving even a hurried glance at their more salient points, rather than pass them over altogether in silence, or postpone our consideration of them, until many of the circumstances from which they now derive their chief interest, are altered, if indeed they do not entirely cease to operate. Unsatisfactory to ourselves, however, as a mere passing word is, we do not utter it without having carefully perused each document. Then, having nothing to do with partisan politics—no clique or coterie to attack or defend, our views, if as erroneous as they are hastily given, will at least be impartial.

If there be any who expect that because we have had a little controversy with the Mayor, we will give vent to our resentment by hypercriticism of his Message, they will find themselves mistaken. In the first place, we cannot give vent to what really does not exist. If his Honor fired a paper bullet at us in defence of a criticised friend, and used a sort of wadding prohibited by the laws of war, we returned the fire with the same weapon if not the same wadding, and there ended all resentment on our part. We confess it did not occur to us at this time how much more powerful are the arguments of one who has an army and a treasury at his back than those of one who has neither army nor treasury—no more formidable or deadly weapon than his pen. But it seemed before long, though contrary to our faith, that we should be made to feel the difference. We refused to believe that the Mayor of New York was a Periander of Corinth, although even Periander, tyrant as he was to the generality of his subjects, took a pride in being the friend and protector of the humblest votaries of literature, science, or the arts. Hence it is that in spite of his tyranny, the Corinthian despot is numbered among the Wise Men of Greece, and his spirit may proclaim to-day,

Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium,
Dis miscent superis.*

It is, however, but justice to Mayor Hall, whom we had never regarded as a despot or tyrant, to say that our first impressions of him have proved correct. If the people of New York have endowed him with a giant's strength we believe he is not disposed to use it as a giant. Most cheerfully do we admit, that after the battle is over, whether the lance broken be his own or that of his antagonist, his Honor is not the less courteous or the less generous for having so overwhelming a force at his command.

Then there is but one of the "documents" that accompany the Mayor's Message, which we might be supposed, from anything we have ever said or done, to take any pleasure in criticising unjustly. This one, we need hardly say, is the Report of the Department of Public Parks; but the truth is, that we are as willing to do justice to this as to any other. Whatever may have been imagined to the contrary, we really have never entertained any malice against Mr. Peter B. Sweeny. Our worst feeling in regard to him was, that we did not think him quite as courteous as our public functionaries, whether municipal, state, or national, generally are; and we own that we are so far human that, in estimating the public services of different men, we are inclined to be somewhat more tender of the feelings of those who seem polite and agreeable, than we are of those whom we have been led to regard as having a different disposition. It is true, that we have never heard any one more highly spoken of by those who know him best, including men whose judgment is entitled to the highest respect, than the President of the Department of Public Parks; nor have we now any reason to doubt that he fully merits the esteem in which he is held by his friends. At all events, we meant no serious mischief to any one when we undertook to point out some defects in the management of the Central Park. We can honestly declare that our chief, if not our sole object was to serve the public; and we are still con-

* Hor. *Carm.* lib, 1. 1.

vinced that no impartial botanist, or landscape gardener, acquainted with the facts, would deny that our criticisms on the treatment to which the trees and shrubs were being then subjected, were just. However, we were quite willing to admit that if harm was done in one way, good was done in another; and nowhere have we asserted or insinuated that either Mr. Sweeny or his subordinates had any other intention, in the course they pursued, than to improve the Park as much as possible. As for maintaining or pretending that they meant to injure that delightful resort, no such idea occurred to us. Never, therefore, we can assure our readers, did anything surprise us so much as to learn that our half jocose *étude* on a subject always dear to us, should give such mortal offence, and bring down upon our devoted head such unsavory streams of obloquy and abuse as dozens of newspapers continued for weeks to pour upon us.

And when we think that at last the storm is over, and begin to congratulate ourselves that, after all, it did us no great harm, but in fact, upon the whole, rather did us good, we find ourselves assailed in another form. Our very kindness, —our willingness to share our purse, slender as it is, with the needy, as well as to aid them in earning money honestly for themselves,—is made the pretext of robbing and persecuting us. But as already intimated, we are now convinced that our article on the Central Park, or whatever feeling it may have excited, had nothing to do with this second onslaught, any further than it may have led those who made it to believe that it would enable them to succeed in a speculation which had to be thrown aside as a failure some eight or nine months previously.

Now, since we have no personal resentment to gratify in examining the various official statements before us, it is almost superfluous to say—neutral as we always have been in politics —that we have no political resentment. We view the controversy between democrats and republicans without the slightest prejudice against one party or the other. If we express an opinion about the twain, it is that neither is one-tenth so bad as its opponents say, but that there are honest, brave, patriotic men

among each. We have said on former occasions that the representatives of the different political parties, far from being worse, upon the whole, in state or city, in the United States than they are in other countries that have any pretentions to self-government, they are really better. This would be found to be the case even if all governments, not strictly republican were excluded from the comparison; nor would we except the republic of Athens, the most glorious and most enlightened that has ever existed. In the palmiest days of Athenian greatness, both intellectual and political, the rival parties treated each other much worse than our parties have ever done. Not only did the former attribute to each other all the crimes of which human nature is capable, even in its most depraved state, but they literally struck each other down whenever they felt strong enough to do so.

Nor did the sternest virtue, or the bravest and most patriotic deeds, save those who had become obnoxious to the ruling power. Thus it was that Socrates and Phocian were put to death, and that Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Alcibiades, and a host of other great and good men were banished in their old age. The treatment of Socrates, cruel and barbarous as it was, cannot be regarded as so strange as that of Phocian, or Themistocles. At the memorable battle of Nixos, in which the Athenians were vastly outnumbered by the enemy, Phocian commanded their right wing, and was chiefly instrumental in gaining the victory. Again at Eubœa he defeated those renowned forces of the king of Macedon hitherto deemed invincible. As for Themistocles it is sufficient to say of him that he was the conqueror of Salamis; he it was who had saved Athens from the Persian yoke. Cimon possessed great wealth, but Plutarch tells us that he "employed it in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged; and besides this, levelled his fences with the ground that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit." * All did not save him from banishment, however; and the one who thus forced him to wander like a vagabond was no other than the great Pericles, his rival.

* Plut. in Pericles.

While Phocian was being dragged off to prison like a thief or a murderer, some of the baser of his political enemies spit in his face. As several other good men were condemned at the same time, when it came to Phocian's turn to take the hemlock draught, it was found that sufficient for all had not been prepared, and the jailer refused to prepare a full draught in order to insure death in a reasonable time except he were paid twelve drachmas. The doomed victim begged his friends to pay the money, remarking that in Athens under its present rulers one could not even die without putting money into the pockets of his enemies.*

Most of our readers will remember how narrow was the escape of Pericles himself from a worse sentence than that of banishment which he had procured against Cimon, whom, however, he had generously recalled after a few years. First, it required all his influence to save his tutor and adviser, Anaxagoras the philosopher, from a fate like that of Socrates and Phocian. Then he was forced to plead with tears in his eyes for the life of his favorite mistress, the renowned Aspasia. Finally he was placed on trial himself on the charge of squandering the public treasure. It was attributed to him that in erecting those noble structures which have been the admiration of all posterity, and which have never been equalled, much less surpassed, his chief motive was to get up "jobs" for the benefit of his political friends; although his architects were men like Phidias, Calicrates and Ichinus.

It is true that there were no newspapers at this time, but the dramatists and philosophers performed for the Athenians the duties which the editors perform for us. Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were to the contending parties at Athens what the Herald, Times, World and Tribune are at this moment to the contending parties at New-York. This is no fanciful comparison; none competent to examine the facts will deny that it is well founded. Although only eleven are now extant of more than sixty comedies written by Aristophanes, sufficient remains to show that the

* Plut. in Phocian.

great comic satirist was the Athenian *Herald*. Nothing is plainer than that, like the New-York newspaper, the Athenian comic dramatist was courted by each of the contending parties; and, like the former, the latter occasionally inflicted severe chastisement on each, although in general he preferred the party of Pericles.

The most formidable antagonist of the party defended by Aristophanes was Socrates, whose relation to the party in opposition was similar to that of the New York *Times* to the republican party. In other words, as the *Herala* and *Times* are the two ablest and most powerful rival champions now in New York, so were Aristophanes and Socrates the two greatest in Athens; and as the *World*—acknowledged by all to be a vigorous and redoubtable ally—sometimes joins the *Herald*, so did Sophocles join Aristophanes. Then, as both the former mock at the *Tribune*, so did both the former mock at Euripides. Not only can these analogies be proved to be just, but they may be extended so as to embrace all the lesser lights, ancient and modern. Even in the matter of abuse, the Athenian dramatists and philosophers were fully the equals of our New York editors, if, indeed, they did not surpass them in that particular, since they called some of the best and most upright of their fellow-citizens, thieves, robbers, murderers, etc.

Let those who doubt this turn to some of the comedies of Aristophanes. They need not go beyond the *Birds*,* the *Clouds*,† the *Frogs*,‡ and the *Wasps*.§ In one the leaders of the opposite party are attacked as traitors and rebels, ready to sell Athens to the Lacedæmonians or to the king of Macedon, according as one or the other make the more liberal bid; in another, Socrates is held up to ridicule and scorn as a vicious, dangerous knave, with a certain sprinkling of the fool; in another, Euripides receives treatment somewhat similar, and some of the finest passages in his plays are burlesqued; in another, the Athenian judiciary are charged with selling justice like any other commodity. Then Euripides, Sophocles and Socrates utter their denunciations in turn, both Plato and Xenophon performing

---

* *Ὄρνιθες* † *Νεφέλαι* ‡ *Βάτραχαι* § *Σφῆκες*.

the parts of faithful reporters for the philosopher. As already intimated, all this not only causes the best men to be banished, but causes men still better, if possible, to be put to death.

But the Athenians, we may be told, were pagans, and therefore cannot be regarded as a fair criterion for us Christians; supposing we admit this, no such excuse can be made for the Venetians or Florentines, each of whom were guilty of still more frightful atrocities than the Athenians against their political opponents. In Venice, merely to be robbed, or even shut up for a while in a dungeon into which the light of heaven never entered, was considered comparatively trifling; those who became obnxious to the ruling power regarded themselves as fortunate if they were not tied up in a bag with a stone about their neck and thrown into the Adriatic. Things have not become quite so bad with us yet under any party, nor is it likely that they will, at least during the present generation.

Still more cruel, if possible, was the tyranny of the dominant party in Florence. Guelphs and Ghibelines vied with each other in literally striking down, or banishing and robbing their opponents. Even genius of the highest order—genius recognized and honored everywhere else—afforded no protection to those who had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of the ruling power. Thus it was that Dante, the illustrious author of the *Divina Commedia*, died in exile, after having depended for many years on the hospitality of the friends of literature and learning for his daily bread, and implored again and again to be allowed to spend his last days in his beloved Florence. Machiaveli, another undoubted genius, once the all-powerful Secretary of the Republic—virtually its head—spent the closing years of his life in a state of absolute destitution. It was while thus suffering from the tyranny of his political opponents that he wrote his *Prince*, in the hope that it would relieve himself and his family from the pangs of want. Like the wretched apothecary in "Romeo and Juliet," it was his poverty and not his will that led the unhappy philosopher to utter the atrocious sentiments contained in that book.

It is because we bear in mind all this, as well as the appalling corruption of the republic of ancient Rome, as described in

the graphic and eloquent pages of Sallust, that we could never take part in any fierce denunciations of either of our great American parties, as such. And it is for the same reason that we now take up the Message of the chief magistrate of New York, and the documents which accompany it, without any wrath or indignation, or any disposition to close our eyes to what is good, or to search only for evil.

With these necessarily hurried remarks as a preface, we proceed to extract a few passages. Taking some pride in the rapid growth of a city which has been our home for twenty years, and which we prefer to all others, we first snatch a fragment from the Mayor's statistics:

"New York Island has an area of twenty-two square miles and twenty-nine miles of water front, about three-fourths of which stretches along the Hudson and East Rivers, and the remaining one-fourth upon the Harlem river and Spuyten Duyvil creek. The streets, roads, and avenues measure four hundred and sixty miles. Two hundred and ninety-one miles of these are paved; one hundred and sixty-nine miles are unpaved. Nineteen thousand gas-lights are burned every night at the public expense to light this area, water front, and extent of streets. Beneath the surface of the city there are three hundred and forty miles of Croton water-pipes, and two hundred and seventy-five miles of sewers. If we accept the last Federal census, the number of our constituents is nine hundred and forty-two thousand two hundred and fifty-two. One thousand horse-railway cars, two hundred and sixty-seven omnibuses, about twelve thousand licensed vehicles, and quite as many more private vehicles continually traverse the thoroughfares, and subject them to increasing wear. It is claimed that forty thousand horses are constantly stabled or used within the city limits. On the 26th day of May last, relieving officers of the ordinance squad, stationed on Broadway, opposite the City Hall, were instructed to report the number of vehicles that from seven o'clock A.M. to seven o'clock P.M. passed and repassed; and they reported 16,246, exclusive of omnibuses."

It is no new opinion on our part that there can be no important improvements without a considerable expenditure of money; or that a wealthy city, like a wealthy man, ought to be reasonably liberal in paying for what serves to increase either its beauty or its wealth. At the same time we hold that one may be at once intelligent, patriotic, and honest, and yet complain of such expenditure. We have shown more than once in these

pages, that even the inimitable works with which Pericles adorned Athens, were denounced by honorable men as criminally expensive. There is, therefore, nothing inconsistent with our habits of thought in believing that the views expressed in the following extract are in the main correct:

"The Mayor believes that the people are willing, if they see available results of the expenditure, to incur a larger debt in order to improve the water front, repave streets, finish boulevards, supply defects in sewage and drainage, and by means of widening, cutting, and extending streets, adapt thoroughfares to the future demands of the great American metropolis. A million of dollars should be used for repaving the cobble-stoned streets in the districts east of Bowery and south of Canal street. An equal sum ought to be expended for drainage and extending sewer heads into the river. It is just that old portions of the city should have their Croton mains renewed, and obtain a doubled or larger supply for water. Therefore, however much the people demand economy, and however many of his official associates differ from him, the Mayor is not willing to go on record without a protest in behalf of posterity against the want of foresight and generosity which so many of the tax-payers of to-day display, and to whose clamors the city officials have responded with economical endeavors. If twenty millions could be expended within the next three years, New York City at the expiration of that time would be entirely renovated. And the increased valuation thereby given to assessable property, and the additional attractions afforded to trade and commerce, especially at portions of the city which have been long neglected, would almost immediately lighten the burden of taxation by better distributing it."

Although there are those who entertain and express the opposite opinion, for whom we have great respect, we have never had the slightest doubt, either of the ability or the disposition of the city of New York to pay every penny of its debts. There is, therefore, no novelty to us in the following assurance of the Mayor, although it is fair to place it on record:

"The credit of the city now rests on a firm basis, because it has frequently been demonstrated that the Sinking Fund, as now constituted, with its accumulations from interest on its investments, and other sources, will be found amply sufficient to pay the city debt as it matures, without resort to taxation for a dollar for that purpose, except as provided for in the case of Public Education stock and Floating Debt Fund stock. The fund for reducing the City Debt is apart from, and an addition to

the immense property possessed by the city, and in obtaining which a large portion of this very debt was incurred, thereby making the debt an investment. In the City Report of the Comptroller (page 53), will be found an exact calculation regarding the mode and time of this ultimate extinction of the City Debt."

A similar remark on our part, but slightly modified, applies to the Mayor's remarks on the difficulties arising from the heterogeneous character of our city population, as the reader may see by turning to our number for last December, article "Party Strife and its Consequences."* We extract from the Message:

"Certain peculiarities of the city and its people may be serviceably recalled. New York is the cosmopolitan city of the globe. People of all nationalities, many jealousies, and diverse creeds inhabit it. Every good and bad habit of human nature is illustrated within its limits. Every development of misfortune, poverty, vice, and crime is here to be found. To the evil manifestations as well as the excellent ones of our city life every clime contributes. It is a misfortune to New York population that, contributed to, as it is, by all parts of the world, local pride develops within our city under increasing difficulty. Every other city seems to have its pulpit and its citizens more prone from motives of local loyalty, if not to apologize for or screen, at least to act kindly towards, the defects and faults of fellow-citizens and rulers.

* * * * * * * * *

"But notwithstanding that the refuse, vice and and crime of every town, village and city of this country, and of those of many foreign countries, is substantially drained into New York city, it has a less per centage of crime committed every year, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, than is committed within the majority of the New England cities. Citizens who take the trouble during the next two or three months, while reading the newspapers, to observe and number the accounts of crime and vice from places elsewhere than in New York, will not need statistics to support these averments. Our very homicides are, with rare exceptions, the results of chance-medley and accidental encounters. For reports of cruel grudge-cherished murders, and abominable, romantic, or plotted crimes, the sensation press search elsewhere than in New York. The Boston Advertiser, which is not a Democratic newspaper, recently commenting upon the result in the Foster case, remarks:

"'Probably, and in spite of the general impression to the contrary,

* Pp. 172-6.

the way of transgressors who fall into the hands of the law in New York is harder than in almost any other city in the country. Governor Hoffman, when City Recorder, made himself a reputation, which Recorder Hackett has worthily sustained, as a terror to evil-doers, and ex-Governor Morgan once remarked that he believed to Hoffman, Hackett, and City Judge Bedford, New York was more indebted than to any other three men she had ever had for the repression of crime, and the strict and rigorous administration of justice. Since becoming chief magistrate of the State, Governor Hoffman has rarely exercised the executive clemency to save or rescue criminals from the judgment of the courts.' "

Although we find our limited space diminishing rapidly, before devoting any attention to the reports of the commissioners, we cannot permit ourselves to lay the Message aside without extracting a few more statistics, which upon the whole seem to us somewhat cheering.

" 'A Commission, composed of Messrs. Anthony J. Bleecker, Courtlandt Palmer, and Adrian H. Muller, is now engaged in compiling a tabular estimate of real estate owned by the city. Pending its reception, the mayor extracts a general estimate made editorially by one of the daily papers of Republican politics; but he is of opinion that it is an estimate too minimum in value:

" 'But while the city has suffered by irresponsible misgovernment, it has held a large estate of its own, which has grown in value far more rapidly than its debt; and which is to-day probably worth, in cash, five times as much as it owes. For instance, at the present prices of land and houses in this city, competent surveyors represent the following as a low estimate of the public property held in trust for the people by our municipal rulers:

The Central Park containing 11,000 lots at $10,000 at least,	$100 000,000
Twenty smaller parks and places	33,000,000
Ten public markets	5,000,000
City lots not in public use	4,000,000
Water lots and Brooklyn lots	1,500,000
Seventy piers, North and East rivers	5,000,000
Croton Aqueduct property	100,000,000
Fire Department—land, buildings, and apparatus	3,500,000
Police stations, etc.	1,500,000
Public Education—land and buildings	6,000,000
Courts, prisons, and the like, with islands in the East river	7,500,000
	$267,000,000

" 'These estimates do not include any prospective valuation of the islands in view of the opening of the Hell Gate channel, nor of the improvements projected by the Department of Docks. But it is confidently expected that plans now before that department will make the piers and the new lots in connection with them almost as important a source of revenue to the city as the Erie Canal ever was of income to

to the State. It is true that but a small part of all this property is likely ever to be sold; but the city debt is a lien upon it all, so that the possession of it sustains the public credit; and besides, it is property in actual and productive use, and the only reason why it will not be sold is because it is more valuable to the city as a whole for public than for private purposes.'"

Since our criticisms on the management of the Central Park have but too evidently given offence to many of the friends of the President of the Department of Public Parks—although, as already remarked, we did no more than present to our readers the results of pretty extensive observation, and careful study, with the view of saving the Park, so far as it was in our power, from further injury than that which we regarded as already done to it—we think we can do nothing fairer now than to transcribe what the President has to say in regard to what we most particularly complained of. We subjoin it accordingly, only premising that, without any selfish motive, or any feeling that ought to be offensive to any one, we were very glad that, so far as we could see or learn, there was not an axe or hook raised against tree or recess in the Central Park after the day the number of our journal containing that criticism was issued; and it affords us still more pleasure to add—having no wish to be otherwise than just to any one—that in other respects—especially in the roads and walks—very useful and agreeable improvements have since been made.

"Mr. Pilat, the first chief landscape gardener, had been engaged upon the Park many years, though not absolutely in control of the gardening department, because (as he complained to this department), he had been restricted to following orders without reference to his own fancy. He was a man of good judgment, large experience, of nice taste, of great zeal in his profession. He was directed to summon to his assistance the best talent he could procure. He did so, and the Central Park, for the first time, was placed in untrammelled charge of a corps of capable and efficient gardeners, who are still continued—a corps unequalled for skill and efficiency. They considered it unnecessary for the natural adornment of the Park that the wooded portion should remain covered with an undergrowth of cat-briers and tangled weeds, to the exclusion of vistas of lawn and scenery; or that trees and bushes near the drives should remain so close together as to preclude the circulation of air, and shut out what would otherwise be beautiful views of landscape; or that the walks of the park should ever

remain without shade. The present board concurred that in such respects the Park could be materially improved; and also that lower branches of trees, which obstructed pedestrians, could be removed with propriety; and that a proper system of pruning and trimming would prove advantageous to trees and shrubbery. A visitor to the Park should be able at all seasonable times, in his walks through it, to rest himself under shade. To accomplish this, large trees have been transplanted from spots where they are not needed, to places at intervals along the sides of the drives and walks. This is necessarily a difficult task, requiring time. It demands care and judgment. The selection of the tree is important. It should be of a shape and kind adapted peculiarly for removal. It is desirable that the tree should not be removed, except upon a reasonable certainty that it will thrive in its new location. Trees of the character required for this purpose are difficult to obtain. They need careful treatment in transplanting. This system will be continued with the care and caution already exercised, until all the roads and walks upon the parks are amply furnished with shade trees."

If only the views here expressed had been carried out there would have been no need for our criticisms, for we, too, have always been of opinion that "*a proper system* of pruning and trimming would prove advantageous to trees and shrubbery." The difficulty was that in our opinion the pruning and trimming were carried too far. At all events we feel certain that when the moment of calm reflection comes, even those who were most incensed against us for our criticisms will admit that both the Park and its managers have profited by those criticisms and that on us alone have they brought evil. But we have never abstained from doing what we thought right and just by fear of retaliation, nor shall we in the future. When we conceive we have done our duty, however, no feeling of hostility—no disposition to annoy any one remains on our part. On the contrary, we should be glad to make amends for any pain we may have given; and accordingly none will be more willing than we to estimate at their full value all improvements made in the Central Park.

As for the city parks, we have found no fault with their management by the present commissioners, for the reason that, with one exception, far from being dissatisfied with the transformations they have recently undergone, we think those transforma-

tions reflect credit on their projectors. This is particularly true of what has been done at the Battery, which, it must be admitted, excels at this moment, in beauty and attractiveness, what it was only one year ago, as much as the butterfly excels the caterpillar. The exception to which we allude is Washington Square; but we must admit that our regret to see this once beautiful park cut up as it has been is more the offspring of sentiment than of reason, for many of our friends know that we had been in the habit for years, of communing with our favorite authors beneath the friendly shade of those fine old trees. Many have a similar feeling in regard to this park, although we believe it is true that a large proportion, if not the majority of our citizens, regard the alterations made—especially the extension of Fifth avenue—as commendable improvements rather than blemishes deserving of censure.

Rapidly as we have to pass from the department of Public Parks to that of Public Works, we are reminded that many will expect us to indulge in denunciations against the President of the latter. But, for reasons which we think will be satisfactory to every impartial, non-partisan reader, we have never done so, and cannot now. Perhaps if we were a politician we should know that Mr. Tweed deserves at least a portion of the obloquy heaped upon him. As it is, we have no knowledge that he has ever wronged his fellow-citizens either individually or collectively; we do not know even that he has molested anybody in public or private. Why, then, should we revile him? Would it be just or honorable to do so on mere hearsay —on the representations of his political opponents? We say nothing against those political opponents—some of them are good, patriotic men, who mean well, even when they magnify molehills into mountains. But we have to do only with the facts as they come before us. We do not believe we could serve either our readers or ourselves by distorting those facts, but the contrary. Accordingly we listen to the statement of Mr. Tweed the same as we should to that of any other gentleman, whose honesty or veracity we have no reason, from our own knowledge, to question. Thus, for example, we regard the statements made in the following extract from his report as in the main correct:

"The very large amount of labor which has fallen to the charge of the Chief Engineer of the Croton Acqueduct is apparent upon reference to his voluminous report. The subject of pure, wholesome and an abundant supply of water is of the first importance, and of more than ordinary interest. It became essential during the past year to purify the water in many localities where the flow was interrupted by not allowing the full circulation through sections where the pipes suddenly terminated, in consequence of not having been continued through rock excavations, and also where the stop valves in the mains were partially closed, preventing the free delivery of water at high elevations.

"An increased supply and storage became necessary lest, on occasion of a severe and continned drought, the city should become a sufferer from famine, or in need from conflagration; in this connection the Chief Engineer remarks that, notwithstanding the Croton Lake, the new Receiving Reservoir, and the old Receiving Reservoir, (both in Central Park,) and the distributing reservoir at Forty-second street, have combinedly a capacity of 1.670,000,000 gallons, and a flow of 35,000,000 gallons a day, yet on the 2d of October, 1869, this available supply was practically exhausted.

"In anticipation of the recurrence of any such drought, the Chief Engineer was instructed, in the summer of last year, to make a general survey of the valley of the Croton river, and ascertain what neighboring deposits of pure water could be found, that by reasonable engineering might be rendered serviceable in turning such natural lakes, when necessary, into the Croton river, thereby holding a storage that should be unfailing.

"The successful efforts of the Engineer, and the prompt action of the Department alone, prevented what would otherwise have been a water panic in the long, dry season of 1870. The possible distress was happily averted, and, under authorities since granted, the need of a full supply of water can scarcely occur again."

Nor can we consider Mr. Tweed's account of his expenditures in any very different light, but we can only find room for the following fragment of it:

"The increased amount of public improvements during the past year for works of various descriptions done to the streets, avenues and the opening new parks has necessarily increased the business in the Bureau of Collection of Assessments. The full and complete report of the transactions of the Bureau, herewith transmitted, shows that collections have been made on 342 assessment lists,—of this number 48 lists were for opening, widening and extending streets and avenues;

ninety (90) for sewers, drains, basins, and culverts constructed; one hundrod (100) for regulating, grading, setting curb and gutter, etc.; one hundred and four were for pavements.

"On this large number of lists, including interest, the sum of nine million five hundred and twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-three dollars and seventy-six cents ($9,527,733 76), was charged the Collector of Assessments, and during the year the collector has paid the City Chamberlain through vacated assessments by order of the Supreme Court, those cancelled by orders of the Comptroller, and returned in arrears as uncollected, five million seven hundred and thirty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty dollars and twenty-three cents ($5,738,330.23), which leaves him this day indebted to this Department the sum of three million seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand four hundred and three dollars and fifty-three cents ($3,789,403.53). For details I respectfully refer to the report."

Now, if we deviate in nothing from our editorial habits for many years, in examining Mr. Tweed's report without indulging in any offensive remark about Mr. Tweed, still less can it be said that we deviate when we come to examine the Comptroller's report, with the same disposition to be civil rather than offensive, as long as we think that no offence is deserved. We have never said, insinuated, or believed, that Mr. Connolly was dishonest, or that he made any fraudulent use of the public funds committed to his charge. On the contrary, we have compared him more than once, in point of integrity, to his predecessor, Mr. Brennan, whose unswerving fidelity while occupying the same important position is acknowledged by all. Without any further preface, then, we subjoin the Comptroller's letter to the Mayor, accompanying his report:—

"SIR,—In your circular, dated March 25, 1871, calling for the Annual Report of this Department, you suggest that the report should be for the year ending May 1, 1871, with a view to an exhibit of 'the workings of the city government' during that period. I deem it expedient, however, to conform to the established usage of the Department of Finance, and embrace in this report the calendar year 1870. In my judgment, this will best subserve the purposes of an Annual Report, as it exhibits the state of the various accounts at the close of the year 1869, and the transactions of the year succeeding, ending December 31, 1870, and as the books of the Department are kept with reference to a fiscal year ending with each calendar year. I have,

however, caused a general tabular statement—Dr. and Cr.—to be furnished you for your Message, showing the condition of the treasury, May 1, 1871. In order that the whole Dr. and Cr. account of the city and county governments may appear, I have determined to submit herewith to you, in connection with my City Report, my report of the County Finances during the fiscal and calendar year of 1870. I also take this opportunity to transmit to you, in accordance with the requirements of the charter, the report of the Auditor of City Accounts to March 31, 1871."

If there be any fell plot to rob the city of New York, or any of its citizens, whether republicans or democrats, hidden away in this, we confess that it has failed us to discover it, although we have examined it pretty closely, scarcely leaving a nook or crevice unprobed. Perhaps we may be more successful in our researches among the figures contained in the "tabular statement," referred to in the letter as furnished to the Mayor, but let us first extract the part which seems to cause most uneasiness.

CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

STATE OF THE TREASURY.

Receipts from January 1 to April 30, 1871		$14,501,945 67
Deduct amount of over-draft December, 31, 1870		967,675 34
		$13,534 270 33
Payments—Warrants drawn		11,917,183 84
Balance in the Treasury, April 30, 1871		$1,617,086 49
Debt of the City.		
Funded Debt December 31, 1970		$48,016,796 51
Less amount redeemed to April 30, 1871		51,432 00
		$47,965,364 51
Bonds and stocks issued to April 30, 1871, as follows:		
Dock Bonds	$5.000 00	
City Improvement Stock	940,000 00	
Central Park Improvement Fund Stock of 1895	100,000 00	
Ninth District Court-house Stock	300,000 00	
Croton Water Main Stock	400,000 00	
		1,745,500 00
Outstanding April 30, 1871		$49,710,864 51

Temporary Debt, representing bonds issued to provide means for payment of awards for opening streets and for expense of improving the same.

Amount, December 31, 1870		$10,521,100 00
Amount issued April 30, 1871, as follows:		
Assessment Fund Bonds	$322,900 00	
Street Improvement Fund Bonds	66,500 00	
		389,400 00
Outstanding		$10,910,500 00

This debt is redeemable from assessments to be collected.

Revenue Bonds, 1870.

Amount outstanding December 31, 1870	$3,080,000 00

These bonds were redeemed January 15, 1871.

Revenue Bonds of 1871.

Amount issued to April 30, 1871, in anticipation of the collection of taxes for 1871	$9,774,300 00

These Bonds are payable at stated periods, from October 1, 1871, to January 15, 1872, as the taxes are collected.

THE SINKING FUND.

1. *The Sinking Fund for the Redemption of the City Debt.*

Capital of this fund, December 31, 1870		$17,799,219 76
Increase since, to April 30, 1871		475,416 52
		$18,264,636 28
Payments, expenses, etc.	$7,462 80	
Water stock redeemed	51,432 00	
		58,894 80
Capital, April 30, 1871		$18 215,741 48

2. *Sinking Fund for Payment of Interest on City Debt.*

Cash balance to credit of this fund, December 31, 1870	$62,132 31
Receipts since, to April 30, 1871	215,444 73
	$277,577 04
Less payments	150,691 57
Cr. Balance, April 30, 1871	$126,886 47

We must confess that, to us, there seems nothing very alarming in all this—we cannot see in it any sign that New York is to become bankrupt for at least another decade. As some of our readers may be inclined to regard the matter in a different light, we will try to aid them in making up their minds by placing two or three of the most startling items side by side:

Receipts from January 1 to April 30, 1871	$14,501.945 67
* * * * * * * * *	
Balance in the treasury April 30, 1871	$1,617,080 49
* * * * * * * * *	
Funded debt, December 31, 1870	$48,016.796 51
Less amount redeemed to April 30, 1871 . . .	51,432 00
	$47,965.364 51
* * * * * * * * *	
Outstanding April 30, 1871	$49,710,864 51

We have no intention of inflicting on our readers any dissertation on the scientific relations which these different sets of figures bear to each other, but we imagine that if Malthus, Ricardo, M'Culloch, Bosselini, and Adam Smith, could examine them together, they would come to no conclusion very different from that arrived at in November last by John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, E. D. Brown, etc., the pith of whose report we placed on record in our December number.*

Although our remarks have already extended far beyond the bounds we had prescribed for them, we cannot conclude without at least acknowledging the importance of the report of the Board of Health. This is undoubtedly an interesting, and valuable paper, so much so, that we regret our inability to do more in this article than merely allude to it. We have been of opinion from the beginning that our present Board of Health would be regarded anywhere as eminently competent and faithful; and the more we examine its labors the more convinced we are that it compares favorably in scientific ability, general intelligence, trustworthiness and efficiency, with the corresponding body of any of the great cities of Europe. We must make room for an extract or two, for the benefit of our readers, from Judge Bosworth's able, analytical survey of the extensive field over which the operations of the board have already extended. We should like to present to our readers the whole of the passage relative to the appearance of yellow fever in this city during last summer and autumn, but can only make room for the following paragraph:

"This occurrence of yellow fever in a severe and fatal form in the

* See Article, "Party Strife and its Consequences," p. 174.

precincts of New York, after an absence of nearly half a century, is instructive, and deserving of the most serious consideration. In the first years of the present century, yellow fever annually devastated New York, and as late as 1822, prevailed as a most fatal epidemic. Since that period it has so rarely extended beyond the limits of quarantine as to have created the impression that in this latitude it will not again exhibit an epidemic tendency. The outbreak upon Bay Ridge in 1856, and the extreme fatality of the disease among the residents of that locality, and the occurrence of the epidemic of last summer upon Governor's Island, prove conclusively that New York enjoys no special immunity from yellow fever in its worst form. In order that the lessons to be learned from the outbreak of this pestilence in the harbor of New York may be thoroughly understood and made available to the department, the board instructed Special Inspector Dr. J. C. Nott, a gentleman whose large experience in the epidemics of yellow fever in southern cities rendered his services especially valuable, to report upon the causes of the outbreak upon Governor's Island, the liability of New York to its re-occurrence, and the sanitary precautions necessary both to avert the pestilence and to control it if it should occur. The instructive report of this gentleman (see Appendix I), shows conclusively that New York is as liable to an epidemic of this pestilence as formerly, and points out the preventive measures which will prove most available. The experience of this Board on the outbreak of an epidemic at a military post, in immediate and most dangerous proximity to the city, and over which it had not the slightest sanitary or police control, suggests the necessity, in the interests of the public health of the city, that military commanders at stations near to, or within the limits of the city should be required to report promptly all contagious diseases to the Health Department, and to enforce all sanitary regulations made by the Board of Health."

There are no statistics more interesting or more instructive than those of the Board of Health. This is particularly true of those embraced in the tabular statements; but to these we can only direct the attention of the reader, being obliged to conclude our extracts with the following paragraphs:

"It appears from the Report of the Register of Records, that the total mortality of New York for the year 1870 was 27,175. The population of the city, according to the last federal census, was 943,842; this would give a mortality of 28 79 deaths to each 1,000 of the population. The most important and prominent features of the mortality records, the course of epidemic diseases, with the meteorological conditions during the year, are fully exhibited by the Register (Appendix D.) The follow-

ing is a brief summary of the mortality for the different quarters of the year:

"During the first quarter (January, February, and March) the mean temperature was 34·42 deg. F., being two degrees higher than the average of the preceding ten years. The greatest range of temperature was 45 deg. F. There were 6,517 deaths against 5,919 deaths for the corresponding quarter of 1869, being an increase of 402. This increase was chiefly in the zymotic class, and was largely due to small-pox, which was prevailing extensively at the opening of the year, and scarlatina, which proved unusually fatal during this quarter. Relapsing fever for the first time appeared in our mortality records, having caused 45 deaths.

"During the second quarter (April, May, and June) the mean temperature was 62·97 degs., or nearly four degrees higher than the average temperature of the preceding ten years. The greatest range of temperature was about 63 degs. The total mortality of the quarter was 6,293, being an increase of 228 over the spring quarter of 1869, and of 965 over the average number of deaths for the corresponding quarter for the preceding ten years. This excess of deaths appears to have been caused by diarrhœal diseases and relapsing fever. The intense heat of June was peculiarly unfavorable to infantile life, and the number of deaths of children under one year of age largely increased, week by week, until, for the week ending July 2d, it reached 228. Relapsing fever was at this time widely prevalent, and caused 106 deaths for the quarter.

"During the third quarter (July, August, and September) the mean temperature was 74·69 degs., being nearly three degrees higher than for the average of ten years preceding, the greatest range being 67 degs. The total mortality was 8,416 deaths, being an increase of 1,026 over the corresponding quarter of 1869. This increase was due to diarrhœal affections, which caused 33 per cent. of the total mortality, being 4 per cent. greater than for the summer quarter of 1869. Relapsing fever caused 25 deaths, and remittent and intermittent fevers were very prevalent and fatal. The number of deaths by sunstroke during June, July, and August was unusually large, being 238.

"During the fourth quarter (October, November, and December) the mean temperature was 46·93 degs., being about three degrees higher than for the corresponding period of the last ten years; the range was 66 degs. The total number of deaths was 5,949, being 156 in excess of the corresponding quarter of 1869. The diseases which gave an increased mortality were diarrhœal affections, croup, measles, scarlatina, and phthisis.

"The total number of marriages registered in 1870 was 7,965, being a decrease of 710 as compared with 1869; and the total number of

births registered in the same period was 14,524, being an increase of 577 over the total of 1869."

We think it will be admitted that we have now examined both the Mayor's Message and the documents which accompany it as carefully as the most exacting could expect, if they bore in mind how few were the hours which we had left before going to press to perform the work. And will it not also be admitted that our disposition toward the government of the city of New York, altogether independently of its politics, has undergone no change? Our pages have never ceased to be neutral ground; we have never ceased to look on quite as calmly and as impartially at the strife of our great political parties as Switzerland has at the great war of her powerful neighbors. If, while the Franco-Prussian war raged most fiercely, Switzerland had ventured to make some criticisms on the management of the beautiful park, called the *Thier-Garten*, in the suburbs of Berlin, even Count Bismarck would hardly have pretended that the republic had violated its neutrality in doing so. Still less would he have attempted, in the face of the civilized world, to strike it down on such grounds. But, as already intimated, we think it is at least as improbable that the government of this great city, no matter what may be its faults, would be guilty of conduct still more unworthy.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION.

Explanatory and Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Names of Noted Fictitious Persons and Places; including also familiar pseudonyms, surnames bestowed upon eminent men, and such analagous popular appellations as are often referred to in literature and conversation. By WILLIAM A. WHEELER, M.A. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.

We find this volume by accident among those we lay aside from time to time with the intention of examining them when none of more importance or value claim our attention; although it is by no means a useless book, or one for his share in which either publisher or compiler deserves any serious blame.

Vocabularies or dictionaries, like other things, may be of three kinds, viz., good, bad, and indifferent, and our objection to the one before us is that it falls within the last category; not so much on account of the occasional insufficiency or incorrectness of the explanations as on account of the omission of more than three hundred names which are in common use, and of which, it may well be supposed, there are many persons daily enquiring after their meaning. These omissions we shall point out in their order, and we believe the compiler himself will be as much surprised at some of them as we have been; but before we begin we must say a few words as to the rules which he laid down for his guidance in making the compilation, and which he has mentioned in his preface. His main object, he says, was to explain, as far as practicable, the allusions which occur in modern standard literature to the names of noted fictitious persons and places. Now, a work which would do this completely would be a very desirable help to the enjoyment of reading of every description, and it ought to be of such a compass as to be within the reach of the pockets of the many. Its design should be to provide information for those who know not where to look for it, or have not access to the necessary books.

Scholars have but little need, comparatively speaking, of such a work. They have their books of reference, and their memory is stored with much of the knowledge required. Not so, however, with the multitude, and it is for this reason that we think Mr. Wheeler has injudiciously rejected the explanation of many celebrated customs and phrases, such as "flap-dragon," "nine men's morrice," "Hobson's choice," "philosophy of the Porch," "to send to Coventry," "to carry coals to Newcastle," etc., and also of appellative or generic names, such as "lord of misrule," "abbot of unreason,"

"high jinks," "kobold," "undine," etc. Scott's novels and Jean Paul Richter's works are full of allusions to such subjects, and require constant attention to the classical and other citations in them. It is not enough to say they may be found in special treatises, such as those of Brand, Hone, Pulleyn, Timbs, and others; for these treatises are rarely at hand when they are wanted, and, sooner than take the trouble to procure them, the majority of readers would prefer passing over the allusion without understanding it. And bearing this in mind, it seems to us that a number of mythological names might have been added with advantage; of course, there is reason in all things, and it would have been absurd to have incorporated Lemprière's or Dr. Smith's classical Dictionaries in the present vocabulary. Nevertheless, it is by no means uncommon in ordinary literature to find a woman spoken of as "a second Messalina," or a man, of being "as wise as Ulysses," "as strong as Hercules," "as fiery as Mars." Milton's poems are crowded with classical imagery; and we find abundance of it in Shakespeare, Pope, Byron, and other writers, and a judicious selection sufficient to have explained these allusions would have made the work much more valuable. With these remarks we proceed to our list.

The first omission, occuring at the very outset, is that of Jerry Abershaw, the noted highwayman, referred to by Bulwer, Ainsworth, Thackeray, and a number of others; and this reminds us that the names of Dick Turpin, Claude Duval, Tom King, and Jack Sheppard are also omitted, although these worthies have been the heroes of romances specially devoted to their glorification, and also of what is called "Newgate literature." It is true that Captain Macheath and Paul Clifford are mentioned in the Vocabulary, but so are not Dominique Cartouche, Robert Macaire, and that audacious vagabond who infested Paris in the last century under the *sobriquet* of "Monseigneur." Fra Diavolo is there, but not the equally famous Massaroni, Marco Spada, Rinaldo Rinaldini, and Charles Moor, the hero of Schiller's "Robbers."

The "clarum et venerabile nomen" of Achilles, in any form, is absent, whether as the hero of the Iliad or as that of "The Deformed Transformed." Acis and Galatea, and their terror, "the monster Polypheme," are also missing, to the grief of those who would understand Handel's operetta. "Brave men were living before Agamemnon," but there is nothing in the Vocabulary to indicate how long ago that was, and neither Horace nor Byron throw any light on that point. Where, when, and how did Agnes, the bleeding nun, appear to her Raymond? We seek in vain for information, for Mr. Wheeler ignores Matthew G. Lewis, with his "Monk," his "Abellino," "the bravo of Venice," and his "Alonzo the brave and the fair Imogene." Aldus Minutius and his Aldine editions must be sought for elsewhere than in the Vocabulary: perhaps it is sufficient that they are mentioned in Web-

ster's Dictionary. "The story of Cambuscan bold, of Camball and of Algarsife, and who had Canace to wife," will be found under the head of Cambuscan, but the work would have been more complete had there been such heads as Algarsife and Canace to refer to And how could Mr. Wheeler forget Alnaschar and his basket of eggs, the delight of childhood? And Altomont? and Apollo? especially the Apollo Belvidere? Has he never read the "Noctes Ambrosianæ" or the "Anti-jacobin," that he deems them not worthy of a passing notice? Or tasted "Archdeacon" ale? or the famous "Audit ale" of Trinity College, Cambridge? It is fair to presume he has not heard of these peculiarly English and aristocratic beverages, and so the omission of them may be excused. But since he has cited the application of the name of Anacreon to Moore, he might also have cited that of Ariosto to Sir Walter Scott by Byron:

> "Then, not unequal to the Florentine,
> The Southern Scott, the minstrel who called forth
> A new creation with his magic line,
> And, like *the Ariosto of the North*,
> Sang ladye-love and war, romance and knightly worth."*

And, while we have Scott in our thoughts, we are reminded that his famous border robbers. Johnnie Armstrong, Adam Bell, Clim o' the cliff, and William of Cloudeslie, are omitted. But one of the most surprising omissions of all is that of Asgard, the home of the Scandinavian heroes Odin and Thor, and of their Walhalla. Perhaps it will be said that these places and persons properly belong to mythology, and that they must be sought for in works on that subject. We reply that they have long been incorporated into ordinary literature, and are so frequently referred to that they ought to have been included. We point to Kingsley's "Hypatia" as one of the most recent proofs of their popularity. One would think that the Assassins and Hassan ben Saba would have appeared in their proper places, but they do not; and unless one happened to know that Hassan was also called "The Old Man of the Mountain," (under which heading he is to be found), one might hunt a long time before finding anything about him; and what we do find is of the most meagre description, so much so, indeed, as to be ridiculous. Astarte is another personage wholly omitted, although her name is familiar enough, if it were only as the heroine of Byron's "Manfred." So are the Aubreys, "Oily Gammon," "Tittlebat Titmouse," and the other well-known characters in Warren's "Ten thousand a year," a standard novel, and one of the best ever written, but which Mr. Wheeler ignores. The name "Avater" might have been advantageously inserted, as that also is frequently used; it is surely something

* *Childe Harold*, canto 4, st. xl.

more than a mere Dictionary word. Our list of omissions under the letter A shall stop with that of Azim, the hero of Moore's famous "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan," a poem of importance enough to demand special notice, though it is not alluded to under the superficial heading devoted to Lalla Rookh. The history of Mokanna is a very singular and interesting one, and the omission of it, together with all mention of the unfortunate Zelica, is very serious, so is that of Paradise and the Peri, the Fire Worshippers, Hafed and Hinda, the light of the Harems Pelim and Nourmahal.

We come now to omissions under the letter B which are more numerous than, though, perhaps, not quite so astonishing as, those under letter A. *Imprimis*, we miss the familiar *sobriquet* given to the Third Napoleon, "Badinguet," the subject of so many caricatures and *jeux d'esprit* in France. "Many eminent characters in political and literary history are often known and referred to by surnames and *sobriquets* or nick names which they have borne," says Mr. Wheeler in his preface; and he instances "the Master of Sentences," "the Scourge of God," "the Stagirite," "the Wizard of the North," "the Little Corporal," etc. Therefore, he has very properly introduced these appellatives which makes it the more strange that he should have omitted "Badinguet," which is so familiar. The affair to which it refers took place in 1836, so that it had become an established nickname; but, perhaps, the compiler wished to avoid giving offence to the emperor of the French. Here are two more omissions: if we do not find "Balaika" and "Romaika" in Wheeler, or Webster, or Pickering, where are we to look for their meaning? These words are found in a popular Greek song, beginning with

> "When the Balaika is heard o'er the sea,
> I'll dance the Romaika, my own love, with thee."

The one is a popular chorus, the other a popular dance, and this reminds us that no explanation is given of such terms as Tarantalla, Truandaise, Cachucha, Cracoviak, Bolero, Carmagnole, (names of national dances) or of Barcarola, Seguadilla, Berceuse, Ranz-des-vaches, Marseillaise, Brabançonne, Parisienne, and other national hymns, the majority of which are also omitted in Webster; yet these names are in daily use, and they are historical, and enshrined in poetry.

Where is Mr. Tite Barnacle? "The Circumlocution Office" is in its proper place, but friend Tite is not. Why separate one from the other? Where is "the Last of the Barons"? not under either L or B. Where is "the old English Baron? not under either O, E, or B! In fact, they are "nowhere," and Walpole and Bulwer may make the best they can of it. We must put in a word, however, for Professor Longfellow; his Blind Bartimeus ought to have come in under either the Ba's or

the Bl's; but no; it is vain to say '*Ηπίστις σου σέσωκέ σε*! for '*Ηπίστις αὐτοῦ μὴ σεσωκέ αὐτον*, in this instance at least. Some notice might have been taken of the Baskerville editions of the classics as well as of the Delphine and Bipont editions, but the Vocabulary is singularly deficient in its bibliography.

Bayard (the "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche!") one of the standard heroes of France with whom it has been customary to measure other heroes, not a word of him! There is mention of Rinaldo's famous horse of that name, it is true; but that makes it the more surprising that the hero should be omitted, seeing that the name was evidently not forgotten. Then we come to one of the princes of stage heroes, Don Cæsar de Bazan, who ought to be visible, but is not, and, indeed, we fear that the list of malodramatic heroes in this vocabulary will be found very defective, yet their names are frequently quoted, and they are spoken of as though they were living personages; *they do live*—on the stage. Before we have done with the Ba's let us notice the heading "Battle of the Nations." Mr. Wheeler says that this is "a name sometimes given to the battle of Leipsic (1813), one of the greatest and most sanguinary battles of modern times, on account of the various nationalities which were there represented." The battle of Leipsic is *not* so called by any nationality but the German, and the term is merely a translation of the German word *Völkerschlacht;* the French do not call it *La bataille des Nations*, nor do the English speak of it as "the Battle of the Nations," *par excellence;* for there are other battles more worthy of the name, as, for instance, the battle of Châlons against Attila, and that of Charles Martel against the Saracens at Tours.

The imaginary Beau Tibbs, of Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World," has the honor of being mentioned, while his more famous living and historical types are omitted. Surely Beau Fielding, the cynosure of Pall Mall, Beau Nash, "the King of Bath," and Beau Brummell, the creature who once "eat a pea," and set the fashions in male attire, were of sufficient importance to claim a place in the vocabulary. The memoirs of Pepys, and of the court of the Prince Regent, and Austey's "Bath Guide," would have furnished ample materials. We consider "Adam Bede" one of the finest creations of modern romance; at all events, it is "a size larger" than many others which pass for great, and is quite as worthy of a niche in the temple as the sobriquet "Cuthbert Bede," "adopted by the Rev. E. Bradley, a popular English humorist of the present day," but about whom the world at large cares very little. But Adam Bede is passed over, along with Tom and Maggie Tulliver and Silas Marner.

There is a romantic spot in Wales called Bethgelert, or Gelert's grave. It is the place of burial of a faithful hound named Gelert, killed by his master, Prince Llewellyn, in a fit of fury, caused by the belief

that the dog had destroyed his child, whereas the child was found alive, and by his side a huge wolf whom Gelert had slain in defending it. In remorse, Llewellyn erected this monument, and a very pretty poem commemorates the circumstances. Was it not a pity to omit Bethgelert? And among the personages who figure in "The Pilgrim's Progress," a few only of whom are included in the list, "Giant Bloodyman" is not mentioned; his place is certainly next to "Bloody-bones." Then, again, we cannot help feeling that the notice of Blue-beard is incomplete without mention of Eugène Sue's very remarkable "Barbe-bleue," or "Female Bluebeard," who was the Duke of Monmouth in disguise. The memorable term "Bluestocking," once popularly applied to learned ladies, though now laid aside as discourteous and ridiculous, deserves notice, notwithstanding the fact that it may be found in any dictionary. The Vocabulary should be complete as regards what may be called "literary terms of art."

From childhood we have cherished the memory of Jack the Giant Killer, but to omit his triumph over the terrible "Blunderbore" would be like playing the tragedy of Hamlet, omitting the character of the Prince of Denmark. Blunderbore was one of the hugest and cruellest of giants and ogres: long may he live!—in nursery tales. It was too bad of Mr. Wheeler to forget him. And Little Bo-peep, too! If he could remember Little Red Riding-Hood, surely he could have bestowed a thought upon the sleepy shepherd-maiden, with her little crook and her *de-caudalized* sheep. "Simple Simon" has been more fortunate. These were the delight of childhood; but there were also terrors, and among them was the imp called "Boneless" who had three legs and whose head was in the centre of his body. He was an English institution, and was perhaps not imported into New England by the Mayflower: but those who read English nursery legends will find him mentioned therein He would have adorned the Vocabulary.

Had the compiler's sympathies been with the naked negroes of Africa, who are in want of moral pocket-handkerchiefs, he could not have failed to think of Borrioboola-Gha; nevertheless, the unfortunate savages of that remote region have been forgotten by him. He should have had "the Bottle Imp" to remind him of them every night. But the Bottle Imp seems to be unknown to him, though it has long been one of the most popular of German Märchen, and a favorite operatic melodrama of the supernatural order. We beg to remind Mr. Wheeler that the account he gives of "the boy-bishop" is a very defective one, inasmuch as it refers solely to the title conferred on St. Nicholas, and omits all mention of the election of the "boy-bishop" at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, a far more curious and interesting matter than the rewarding of the saint for his piety. A similar deficiency appears under the head "Brunehild," which is confined

exclusively to the warrior-virgin of the "Nibelungen-Lied," and takes no notice of the celebrated Queen of the Franks of that name, the perpetrator of so many murders, and whose fate is one of the most dreadful tragedies in French history. The term "British Aristides" was applied to Lord Chancellor Eldon as well as to Andrew Marvell, but of this Mr. Wheeler makes no mention. There are several very fascinating brides in literature; such are the Bride of Abydos, the Bride of Lammermoor, the Bride of Messina, the Robber's Bride, etc.; but the only bride noticed in the vocabulary is the Bride of the Sea, in other words, the city of Venice. But the greatest omission of all under the letter B is that of the names of Brahma and Buddha. Be it remembered, these are not strictly historical nor yet mythological, though, if they were, they ought to be included on account of their being so mixed up with Oriental literature, and works relating thereto. *Expede Herculem.* We have gone through the first two letters of the alphabet superficially, and our readers may hence form some idea of the space and time it would take to go through the entire work critically.

---

1. *Mitchell's New Series of Outline Maps.* Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co.
2. *A Key to Mitchell's New Outline Maps. For the Use of Teachers.* 12mo., pp. 107. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1871.

Mitchell's geographies have a reputation so well established that, we believe little effort on the part of the publishers has been found necessary to maintain their popularity. In school-books there is a mania for change; the old are constantly giving place to the new. We are glad to find an exception in this case, and it is our conviction that it is due to intrinsic merit, both author and publishers being careful to keep these works up to the standard of recent discovery and acknowledged improvement.

We have examined the new series of outline maps, and regard them as superior to all similar works we have yet seen. Their utility is indisputable. They present at a glance the main features of each country of the globe, the chief towns, etc. and enable the student to fix the more important geographical facts in his mind without confusing it with excess of detail. In connection with the accompanying key and the "Hand-book of Map-Drawing," the young student can acquire, with comparatively little trouble, a good general knowledge of geography.

Erroneous impressions are apt to be left upon the mind from the fact that most geographical text-books furnish maps drawn on different scales. These errors are especially liable to arise from the practice of drawing the maps of the country where the work is published upon a larger scale than those of other countries. Impressions so derived are not easily obliterated, even in mature years. Thus, for example, we heard two gentlemen, not long ago, disputing as to the relative size of the United States and Australia. A travelled gentleman asserted that Australia was larger in area than the United States and territories, exclusive of Alaska. To the American this seemed preposterous. A reference to the carefully prepared tables in this key would have shown him that the area of the United States, without including Alaska, is 3,010,000 square miles, while the area of Australia is 3,120,000 square miles. It is not well that the young should get the impression that theirs is, in all respects, the greatest country on the globe; they should at least be taught to understand its comparative physical extent.

To insure correctness of judgment, each map of a continent in this series contains an outline of Pennsylvania on the same scale. This representing an area of 46,000 square miles, affords a means of accurate comparison. The arrangement of lessons in the key, the descriptions, tables, etc., are all that we could desire. It is not only a key to the maps, affording important aid in their use, but comprises a good outline of physical and descriptive geography, with accounts of the various races inhabiting the globe, the population of countries, chief cities, rivers, mountain chains, and other matters of interest.

The Union Bible Companion: Containing the Evidences of the Divine Origin, Preservation, Credibility, and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; an Account of various Manuscripts and English Translations, all the Books, and the chief Doctrines of the Bible, and plans of Christian Work: with a copious analytical Index. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 12 mo. pp. 315. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

Always commendable in its efforts to disseminate Christian knowledge among the young, the American Sunday School Union has been particularly fortunate in securing the pen of so thoughtful and judicious a writer as Mr. Allibone for the preparation of this volume. It is as thorough a resumé and satisfactory defence of the Christian religion as could well be compressed into a work of its size, and at the same time

be sufficiently lucid in statement for those for whose use it is intended. Mr. Allibone admits that for Christian doctrine and vindication there are ample resources in the standard works in use in our theological schools, "but these compends of learning are beyond the reach, the time, and the intelligent study of all, save a very few."

The "Remarks on Bible-Classes" give sensible directions for the formation and conduct of such classes, and are applicable to those of all sects. The remainder of the volume is divided into fifty-two lessons, being one for each Sunday in the year. The arguments proving the existence of a Deity are concisely stated. Several chapters are devoted to the evidences of Christianity, proofs of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, their credibility, etc. We could not expect an exhaustive treatise upon this subject in so small a space, but the main arguments are well presented. We find nothing absolutely new, but are glad to see that many statements of doubtful authority, too much like special pleading, made in most polemical treatises, are omitted from this work. We do not think that Mr. Allibone, while following an able leader, puts the strongest argument first for the internal evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament. To say that the mixed and imperfect Greek of a work which it is claimed was divinely inspired, is strong proof of its genuineness, will doubtless seem to many a fairly balanced proposition. It was natural that the evangelists should write in the Hebraic-Greek; it was at the same time the best medium of communication with those for whose instruction their record was immediately designed.

The chapters on the fulfillment of prophecy will, we believe, from their romantic character, prove to the majority of students the most interesting portion of the book. This part is chiefly a compilation—as indeed is the work generally—but it is made with care and judgment. The subject of the propagation of Christianity, its fruits, and the testimonies to its value, furnish the most powerful presentation of its claims to acceptance, especially by the young. The comparison of the effects of Grecian and Roman philosophy, of Mahommedanism and other systems with that of the pure gospel of the Christian is forcibly made. In this part of his work the author becomes unusually earnest, and sometimes eloquent.

The work is written from the orthodox, trinitarian, protestant standpoint, and this being its declared teaching, we have discovered nothing objectionable in the way of intolerance or bigotry. The chapters on "Justification of the sinner," "Repentence and faith," etc., make the nearest approach to dogmatism or anything that will be likely to conflict with the general religious tendencies of the age. In a word, we know no Sunday-school book at once so instructive and interesting, and so entirely unobjectionable on sectarian grounds as "The Union Bible Companion."

A Dictionary of English Synonymes and Synonymous or Parallel Expressions. Designed as a Practical Guide to Aptness and Variety of Phraseology. By RICHARD SOULE. 8 vo. pp. 456. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1871.

The collection of synonymes which is here presented is such as has long been needed. There were several works, each possessing some features of excellence, but none combining all the requisites of a hand-book for the use of men of letters. Crabb's, Graham's, and Whately's Synonymes are good books, but designed and adapted rather for the student of language than the writer. Roget's Thesaurus is a philological curiosity, and has also meritorious features, but its peculiar arrangement interferes with its usefulness.

The Dictionary of Mr. Soule is arranged in alphabetical order, which is the most convenient plan for ready reference. The entire work is devoted to synonymes, of which the collection is fuller than in any book of the kind with which we are acquainted. There is no attempt to define words in reference to their nice shades of meaning, as in the work of Crabb, nor is there brought together such a mass of words having only a general similarity of signification as in Roget's Thesaurus. Words are grouped together, but only those which are nearly or quite synonymous or parallel.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Die Deutsche Mächte und der Fürstenbund. Deutsche Geschichte vom 1780 *bis* 1790. (*The German Power and the Confederation of Princes' German History from* 1780 *to* 1790.) Von LEOPOLD von RANKE. Erster Band. 8vo. pp. X, 407. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1871.*

The period treated of in this history, of which one volume is before us, was of the greatest importance in the consolidation of the German power. It was the transition stage from the old to the new order. At first view it seemed to be a retrogradation so far as unity is concerned. The confederation of princes was in opposition to consolidation,—a jealous attempt to defend feudal privileges. For a time this movement seemed to be successful in preventing centralization, but it was really an expiring effort of feudalism. Yet was the movement altogether a failure? Federalism seems to have triumphed, but the disposition for independent thought and action remains, and the ruling power must

* The books in foreign languages reviewed or noticed, in this department, are politely furnished for that purpose, by Mr. Fred. W. Christian, University Place, and Mr. L. W. Schmidt, Barclay street.

take it into account and be modified by it. As the people improve in intelligence, they will still further restrict despotic power, and finally, it is to be hoped, take it away altogether.

Herr Ranke's treatment of his theme is able. He is an enthusiastic Teuton, as he has a right to be. Yet throughout he discusses his subject with historical dignity and with an evident regard for truth. The chapter entitled "A word upon German literature in ecclesiastical and national aspects," is especially interesting. We translate a brief passage, giving the original at the bottom of the page:

"The great epoch of German literature is also remarkable in this, our speech is from no inner workings of highest power, no political dexterity; it was brought to light only through the invest gation of truth in itself, through the spread of learning, philosophy and poetry, though its possibility sprang from the great impetus of the world-historical movement.†"

The discussion of the relations of Prussia to Austria, the papacy, Russia, Italy and Holland, is carried on with ability, and generally with temperance and candor. The work is one which our German readers will prize, especially at the present time.

Annual Re-Union Meeting of the San Francisco British Benevolent Society. San Francisco Daily Journals, May 25, 1871.

There is at the capital of our great and progressive Pacific region a society whose objects we cordially approve. It is called the San Francisco British Benevolent Society, a name which sufficiently indicates its purpose, and, as might be supposed, composed chiefly of citizens of the British Islands, associated to dispense needed charity among their countrymen, who are continually seeking homes and the means of living upon the shores of the Pacific. From the graphic and interesting report of the chairman of the Relief Committee, Mr. William Hayes, we are enabled to form an approximate estimate of the amount of good accomplished during the past year, being the sixth of the existence of the society. Destitute immigrants have been taken in charge, their immediate wants have been relieved, and employment has been furnished them. The sick have been provided for in the city hospitals, whose officers, we are pleased to see, heartily co-operate with the members of the society. The latter has its own medical officers, also, who have, during the past year, treated eighty-

† "Die grosse Epoche der Deutschen Literatur ist dadurch merkwürdig, das von keinem Einwerken seine höchsten Gewalt, keinem politischen Geschichtspunkte die Rede ist; nur die Erforschung der Wahrheit in sich, die Fortbildung der Gelehrsamkeit, Philosophie und Poesie würde ins Auge gefasst, obwohl die Möglichkeit dazu aus einer grossen Abwandlung der welthistorischen Bewegung entsprang" (p. 120).

four sick persons. The total number relieved by the society during the year was over one thousand. Two hundred and twenty-one persons were furnished with employment. We quote from the report:

"Since the occupation of the present office, and stated hours of attendance by the Secretary, a gradual and increasing inquiry has been made, especially by American ladies, for domestics of British birth, who by their demeanor and intelligence have generally given satisfaction to their employers, and this has been a means of diminishing in part the pecuniary aid that would otherwise have been afforded them."

The Society held its sixth annual dinner on the evening of the the birthday of the Queen. Toasts were drunk, and speeches delivered by gentlemen of intelligence, benevolence, and liberality of sentiment. The references to national affairs seem to have been invariably in good taste. In proposing "The Press," Mr. Wm. Hayes said:

"Her Majesty has been toasted, as also His Excellency the President, Old England has been remembered, and her offspring, young America, has not been forgotten. Let us not forget that Power which has made the world familiar with the virtues of the Queen; that makes and unmakes presidents; that preserves the integrity and well-being of the mother country, and to which this new land is indebted for many of those blessings that make it the paradise of the world."

Mr. Hayes is an able and successful lawyer, a man of fine culture and decided talent, and it has been our own privilege to have had opportunities of bearing testimony to his superior conversational powers, and genial, attractive manners. As men of this character are always liberal and cosmopolitan in sentiment, it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Hayes is not the less willing to pay a well merited tribute to Her Brittanic Majesty, or to contribute to the relief of destitute Englishmen, from being himself a genuine son of Erin, than whom no one loves the Emerald Isle with a more enthusiastic fervor. At the same time it is chiefly because we regard uch liberality as exemplary, and are always sorry when we see the oppofeel ing manifested, whether by English, Irish, Scotch, or German, that we have thus made an exception in our editorial habits.

Deutsche Reden (*German Discourses*) von WILHELM VON GEISEBRECHT. 8vo. pp. viii., 150. Berlin: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot. 1871.

The subjects of these discourses are such as would naturally interest those who study national development. They are thoughtfully written, and present many ideas worthy of attention from others than those to whom they are immediately addressed. The titles of the several discourses are "The development of modern German *savoir faire* (*Geschichtwissenchaft*)," "The first German missionary in Prussia" "The development of German popular knowledge," "Upon an old exhibition of the times of the German emperors," and "The influence of the German universities upon the national development." Herr Geisebrecht is anxious for German unity,

and solicitous of national power and glory, for which no one can blame him.*

There is occasionally a thought which has reference to something beyond most national interests, something of importance to all mankind, and which shows the author to be a man of an original cast of mind.

"Strenge Forchung ist sauere Arbeit, und Niemand unterzieht sich leicht derselben den nicht ein aufrichtiges Streben nach Wahrheit beseelt."† (p. 17.)

The comments upon the influence of the universities are worthy of attention. The author sees something to apprehend as well as much to commend in these great institutions of learning, and the effect they are having upon the people. They are excellent training-schools for the intellect, but do they develop patriotism?

"Man hat nicht selten besorgt, dass die nationale Idee den Studien der Hochschulen, da die Wissenschaft an sich ja über jede volksthümliche Beschränktheit hinausweist, eine einseitige Richtung geben könnte."‡ (p. 145.)

It is certainly the legitimate effect of learning to make its votaries cosmopolitan, to induce them to disregard the narrow boundaries of nationality, and recognize a common brotherhood of talent and refinement. This effect should not be regretted by German scholars, though it may give uneasiness to politicians intent only upon selfish national aggrandisement.

Crofut's Trans-Continental Tourists' Guide. Third vol. Second annual revise. New York: American News Co., 1871.

The great Union and Northern Pacific Railroads, under their present management, promise to fulfil all reasonable expectations, and justify all necessary outlays in constructing a trans-continental line. There was a time when these roads seemed to be in the hands of speculators and sharpers of the grade of our New York railway adventurers. But events have changed, and we are glad to hail the new state of things,

---

* "Das Gedeihen des neuen Reiches beruht zum grossen Theil darauf, das sich alle deutschen Stämme geistig näher rücken, das sich namentlich in der gesammten Nation die Ueberzeugung befestigt wie der deutsch Norden und Süden durchaus zu einander gehören, erst mit einander in Ganzes bilden." (p, viii).

("The growth of the new realm, principally depends upon this, that all German races approach each other in spirit, that, especially, in the united nation conviction be strengthened that, throughout, Northern and Southern Germany belong to one another, and shape themselves into one whole.")

† "Severe inquiry is sour work, and no one cheerfully undertakes it who is not animated by a sincere love of truth."

‡ It has not seldom been feared that the national idea of the students of the universities, where learning of itself disregards every national boundary line, might give a one-sided direction.

and to recognize in it an assurance that all will be done which can be fairly expected for the interests of the public and the government. Under the control of men like Thomas A. Scott, J. Edgar Thompson and William H. Gatzmer—all rightful railway sovereigns—we are confident that the more than imperial power which these roads confer will be wielded in a manner to benefit not only the people of this country, but directly or indirectly those of all commercial countries. Would that the princes of our New York railway lines were equal in integrity and public confidence to the "kings" of Pennsylvania and the West. As it is, the interests of this metropolis are suffering serious detriment. A change must be made, for the New York lines are too valuable to the whole country, to be made merely the means of personal gain.

We have thought, and we still believe, that the government gave more than was necessary to build the Union Pacific road; that the work could and would have been done in time by private enterprise. Yet its advantages to the country are so great, it promises so much under its present management, that wonder and hope overshadow regret. The government has already effected a considerable saving in its overland transportation service since the completion of the road. Senator Stewart in his report upon the Pacific Railroad, in February last, estimated the annual saving to the government, for so far, at $3,000,000. By the development of new territory the advantages of this road to the people, and through them to the government, will be incalculable.

A trip to California and back is now a pleasant summer tour. The distance from New York to San Francisco by rail is 3,296 miles—time six days and twenty hours, fare $136.00 currency. If we go by way of Philadelphia, and take the Central Railroad, we have from the beginning to the end of our journey a succession of magnificent views; scenery unsurpassed in the world for variety. A journey around the world is now not a serious affair. If we take this route to San Francisco we can belt the globe in seventy-nine days and fourteen hours, a journey which many are accomplishing in half the time that others are hesitating as to whether they shall undertake it. The fare for the trip is given in the guide book before us $1,145 00, exclusive of extras.

We do not wish in placing the name of the guide-book at the head of our article, to be understood as commending its peculiar literary or rather illiterate style. It is of the sensational, italic, exclamatory order, though containing much that is valuable and interesting.

Friederich der grosse und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, mit einem Anhang: die Vereinigten Staaten und die Seekriegsrecht (*Frederick the Great and the United States of America. With an appendix: the United States and the rights of naval warfare*). Von FRIEDERICH KAPP. 8vo pp. 203, XXX, Leipzig. Verlag von Quêndt & Händel, 1871.

Here is a piece of German-American history quite valuable, and especially interesting to citizens of the United States. As the attitude of the great Frederick towards this country at a most trying period of its history is not generally understood here, Herr Kapp thinks it worth while to enlighten us upon the subject. Coming at this time it might be thought a bid for American symyathy in the conflict just ended; though as the Germans have been successful, it would seem to be hardly necessary.

As an historical work it appears to be written in a spirit of fairness, and its statements, so far as we can judge from a cursory examination, are in the main correct. An inexplicable enigma was Frederick II. whom his countrymen style the great. A man of power and nerve he certainly was; but we do not think he should be held up as a model for school-boy imitation; we doubt if the Germans, even, would care to have his disposition propagated, particularly among the masses. As a king in an iron age, and dealing with a people and with events that did not, perhaps, encourage amiability, we may accord him a share of our toleration; but the fewer of such men the world needs and has, the better for it. He was essentially a despot. The aggrandizement of Prussia was his chief object.

Frederick's hatred of England, which induced him to take the part he did in reference to this country, is frankly admitted, while a sort of justification is given by Herr Kapp. *

We find this book readable, and hope it will prove a useful contribution to American history.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Napoleon Fallen. A Lyrical Drama. By ROBERT BUCHANAN. 18mo. pp. 141. London: Strahan & Co. 1871.

Mr. Buchanan has been a rather voluminous writer of poetry, five or six volumes bearing his name having, we believe, been published. He has some reputation, but not sufficient to risk upon such an attempt as this. Poetry adapted to current historical events can never be permanently successful. The example of such men as Coleridge, Southey, and Shelley should have deterred Mr. Buchanan from entering this field if his own art-sense failed to do so.

The career of Louis Napoleon has many romantic incidents. We doubt, however, if it will ever be a good subject for poetry, as the days of epic heroes have passed. Even Voltaire could not make a thoroughly

* "Der Hass Friedericbs gegen England hat seine natürlichen und wohlberechtigen Gründe." p. 5. (Frederick's hatred of England had its natural and well-justified grounds.)

readable poem out of the eventful career of Henry the Fourth. Mr. Buchanan seems to be conscious that he has selected an unprofitable subject, and in a prefatory note he attempts to forestall our objections:

"It should be remembered that we lack, as yet, the proper foreground for the contemplation of the chief character" (p. vii.).

As almost the entire work is occupied with a "contemplation of the chief character," Napoleon, this is an admission that the subject is an improper one. The scene is laid at the château of Wilhelmshöhe, in 1870, shortly after the surrender of Sedan. The author is studious of the unities, but concedes that thereby he has been compelled to admit some glaring anachronisms. We are first introduced to a concourse of German citizens outside the château, who comment upon the illustrious prisoner and upon current events. This is, perhaps, a natural remark, though hardly worth reporting:

"Better in Germany to dine,
Smoke one's cigar, and sip one's wine:
And in good time, like most, no doubt,
Who have worn their wicked members out,
Repent, and be absolved, and then
Die in one's bed like smaller men" (p. 4).

Those "who have worn their wicked members out" may, after all, it seems, have a very good time, and die a peaceful death—in Germany. If the following is based on accurate information, Napoleon is an inveterate smoker, and for the valuable intelligence, we owe Mr. Buchanan the acknowledgment due to any Jenkins:

"His features are
Gray, like the ash of the cigar
He smokes for ever" (p. 7).

We are next introduced to the inside of the château, and listen to a consultation between Napoleon and his physician. The latter's diagnosis of his illustrious patient's case is certainly unique:

"This sickness is no sickness of the flesh,
No ailment such as common mortals feel,
But spiritual" (p. 11).

We remember Macbeth's inquiry,

"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?"

and are compelled to admit that Mr. Buchanan has gone beyond Shakespeare. Napoleon, being left alone, addresses a long discourse to the Deity, giving him a great deal of information, much of which must have been quite new.

"Thou knowest—yea, thou knowest
I have been a man of peace; a silent man,
Thought-loving, most ambitious to appease
Self-chiding fears of mental littleness." (p. 15).

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Yea, the sight of pain
Sickened me like a woman." (p. 16.)

Perhaps it would be too curious to inquire whether the sight of pain or a woman sickened him the more. He talks to the Deity as to an equal, if not an inferior, and as one whom he could persuade to his view by the force of protestation.

"Nay, but hear me swear." (p. 16.)

Boys are usually taught that Heaven hears them "swear," whether they wish it or not; we are sorry that Napoleon,—or Mr. Buchanan,—was not better instructed in his Sunday-school days. A chorus, after the manner of the Greek tragic drama, with strophe, antistrophe, etc., follows. The ex-emperor is very bitter towards the French people, and expresses himself sometimes rather profanely.

"Have we not proved
Their children cowards? Yea, by God! like dogs, etc." (p. 71)

Comment on this were superfluous. In the last scene Napoleon is represented as sleeping. We have a chorus of spirits, and then he is addressed by the spirits of Hortense, Cæsar, Bonaparte, Orsini, Maximilian and others. This, of course, will remind no one of "Richard III." Mr. Buchanan has abilities; we wish he would put them to a better use than writing such works as this, the most of which we feel no pleasure in being compelled to characterize as nonsense.

Chips from a German Workshop. By MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

It so happened that the third volume of this series came into our hands before the other two, and thereby we were led to form a less favorable estimate of the 'Chips" than we otherwise should have done. The publication of the third volume seems to have been an afterthought with the author, induced, no doubt, by the gratifying reception of the preceding, and containing essays which his better judgment had at first induced him to reject. This view is strengthened by the fact that no index was attached to the third and last volume, where we should have expected to find it, a circumstances which we noted at the time. The second volume has, however, a very complete and elaborate index.

These two volumes contain essays, most of which were originally published in periodicals, the first upon the science of religion, the second upon mythology, traditions and customs. The religious essays are mostly upon the Vedas and other books of Hindu mythology. They contain much information which is of essential value in tracing the religious opinions of mankind. Mr. Müller has for many years been engaged in preparing an edition of the Vedas for publication in England. These ancient books contain the earliest exposition of a complete religious system of which the world has any knowledge. Their study throws much light upon the progress of religious ideas, and has greatly facilitated an understanding of the Christian records. Many of the Jewish traditions seem to have been known to the authors of the Vedas, however the fact may be accounted for. For example, in the Vedas are records of several incarnations of Deity, though they were written, probably, at least fourteen hundred years before Christ.

All our religious systems seem to have had their origin in the East, though their beginnings have not yet been satisfactorily traced. Much is being done by those who, with scholarly attainments like Mr. Müller, have spent years in tracing up the currents of belief. The source, if divine, cannot, of course, be found by merely scientific and scholarly investigation. As our author says:

"The idea of revelation, and I mean more particularly book-revelation, is not a modern idea, nor is it an idea peculiar to Christianity. Though we look for it in vain in the literature of Greece and Rome, we find the literature of India saturated with this idea from beginning to end" (vol. I, p. 17).

The second volume treats of topics that have a more definite interest. The article upon "Comparative Mythology" shows Mr. Müller's depth of research, and also the broadness of his views. It is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of comparative philology and of ancient myths. An extract will show the disposition which he brings to this investigation:

"The history of the world, or, as it is called, "Universal History," has laid open new avenues of thought, and it has enriched our language with a word which never passed the lips of Sokrates, or Plato, or Aristotle—*mankind*. Where the Greeks saw barbarians, we see brethren; where the Greeks saw heroes and demi-gods, we see our parents and ancestors; where the Greeks saw nations (ἔθνη), we see mankind, toiling and suffering, separated by oceans, divided by language, and severed by national enmity, yet evermore tending, under a divine control, towards the fulfilment of that inscrutable purpose for which the world was created, and men placed in it, bearing the image of God" (vol. 2, p. 5).

The Aryan peoples, whose language was the parent of the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the Latin, were by no means barbarous. Indeed they must have attained a degree of enlightenment from which the civilization of the present century could learn most valuable lessons. The philosophical structure of the Greek and Latin tongues is an evidence that there was behind those nations a progressive people who could lay the foundations of an abstrusely grammatical language. Mr. Müller is not a believer in certain recent scientific theories; he declares that "the idea of a humanity emerging slowly

from the depths of an animal brutality can never be maintained again" (p. 7).

To show how the Grecian myths were probably formed, we are taken into an interesting and instructive examination of comparative philology. We are presented with lists of words in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and other languages, showing that they had a common and Aryan origin. From words we are introduced to the source of mythological fables which grew out of the primitive necessities of language, receiving in time various modifications and localizations. We have not space to follow Mr. Müller, as we should be glad to do, in his account of the development of many of the most interesting myths of antiquity. Other articles in this volume which we have found especially interesting are those upon "Manners and Customs" and "Caste."

The prominent thought to which our examination of Mr. Müller's works has given rise, is that material science, which its devotees suppose to be the only really demonstrable branch of learning, is, in fact, of less importance in a study of civilization then the science of religion or of language. Religion has been considered too much dependent upon mere faith to furnish a scientific basis. Yet, between religion and material science, philology steps in and furnishes a needed link from which in time we hope will develop a complete chain that shall make all knowledge and all necessary belief scientific.

Adrift with a Vengeance. A Tale of Love and Adventure. By KINAHAN CORNWALLIS. 12 mo. pp. 319. New York: Carleton. 1870.

We must take the world as we find it. What does not suit our taste may be very pleasing to others; we all know that tastes change with years and conditions. We took up this novel with a bias in favor of its author. After reading a few pages we thought we did not like it—a little further on it began to be positively distasteful. Yet we persevered, determined at least to speak no word of censure or praise until we had given the book a fair reading. It was not long before we found in the narrative a certain fascination; the peculiarities which were displeasing gradually seemed to be eliminated until we found ourselves so absorbed that we read the volume to the end, and with ever increasing interest.

The opening chapters, describing the early life of the hero, are very sad, and contain so many horrible events that we were about to characterize the book as sensational. The skies, however, gradually brighten; there is less and less of the appalling and the tragic, until at the end the hero and all his worthy friends, are fairly overwhelmed with good fortune. This management of the plot is artistic. The danger is that some readers who, like ourselves, are not fond of horrors, may be repelled by the opening chapters.

The plot is so full of incidents that it will be difficult in a brief notice to present an outline that will give a fair conception of its nature. A boy in

Massachusetts supposes himself to be an orphan. He is placed in the care of a virago, who, with her son, has charge of a medical library in Boston. He is treated with fiendish cruelty, witnesses the coming to life of a man who had been hanged and was brought to the Medical Society for dissection, and is also present when a murder is committed by the librarian. He escapes and goes to New York on a sailing vessel. Without money or food he finds himself in the Five Points, where he is kindly taken in charge by one of the wretched denizens of that locality. We will here give an extract which contains a piece of philosophy that we hope is derived from experience. At any rate, the sentiment is creditable to human nature.

"Give me the man or woman of wide human sympathies and generous feelings, whose charity springs from a noble impulse and is free from ostentation. If I want to do good let me seek those who have tenanted our jails and hospitals, and those whose career is one of crime and misfortune, and let me put them in the way of making an honest living. That, indeed, would be charity. Who would choose to live by burglary in preference to following an honest calling? No one! Necessity is the mother of crime, as well as of invention."—(p. 47.)

Our hero embarks as a sailor for Liverpool, returns, and the vessel is wrecked on the cost of Newfoundland. He saves the life of a young lady whose father is a rich banker in Wall street, New York. He is taken into the banking-house and becomes affianced to the young lady. He is unjustly accused of theft, loses his situation and the favor of his prospective father-in-law, and goes to Australia. He stops at the Cape of Good Hope, and has plenty of adventures with lions, gorillas, etc. In Australia his career is not less thrilling. In the course of time his origin is revealed. His mother was an English heiress, and to secure property, her husband had made away with their child, persuading her that it was dead. Mother and son are brought together, the father dies, our hero weds the woman of his choice, and in time, becomes Earl of Huntingdon.

The story, as we have said, is crowded with events, many of them of the most exciting and novel character. The author at least deserves the praise of invention. There is too much of incident, we think, to satisfy a severe taste. But it is not those of thoroughly refined tastes for whom the novelist who would be successful must write. This work certainly contains the elements of popularity, and we should expect it to have a wide circulation, and be devoured with avidity by the readers of this style of literature.

Revue des Deux Mondes. XLIe Année, Seconde Periode, Tomes Quatre-Vingt-Onzième et Deuzième. 1871.

This *Revue* has long been a power in the literary world. It has not fallen off in ability since the war; on the contrary, French writers seem disposed to show the world that their country still retains its intellectual vigor and will contest the supremacy with any other nation. The greater portion of the articles in the late numbers have reference to the war with Germany.

Questions of polity and international law are discussed with superior ability, and always, so far as we have discovered, in a temperate spirit, and with the good taste for which educated Frenchmen have ever been distinguished. In the number for January 1, is an article on "L'Invasion Prusienne en 1792 et en 1870—Goethe et les Allemandes d'Aujourdhui." The comparison between the liberal-minded Goetho and the Germans of to-day, we should not expect, in the present temper of the French public, to be favorable to the modern Teutons.

"Un Français ne parlerait pas de l'état de la France avec plus de sagacité et d'impartialité que lui."

In the following number is a continuation of the subject in an article entitled "Goethe et la siège de Mayence." "Les Haines Naturelles de la France et l'Allemagne," in the number for February 1, is an attempt to show that up to Goethe's day, French taste was in the ascendant in Germany, and to trace the gradual development of national hatred.

"C'est en effet l'orgueil blessé qui fit depuis cinquante ans le fond de toute la haine des Allemands contre nous. Leurs politiques étaient jalous de notre gloire militaire et du rôle considérable que nous jouions encore dans le monde, comme leurs lettrés de notre gloire littéraire et de l'influence universelle de notre esprit."

Madame George Sand has an interesting article continued through two numbers, entitled "Journal d'un Voyageur Pendant la Guerre." "Deux Types de Femme de l'Autre Siècle," is able and interesting; so, also, is an article for the times, written in a philosophic spirit and entitled, "Les Impots après la Guerre, les Contributions Indirectes."

The war seems to have put a stop to literary production in France, at least so far as the publication of books is concerned, for we find few that are noteworthy upon the shelves of our importers. We should expect that the events of the last few months would absorb all the intellectual activity of the country, and that this is so, is rather commendable than otherwise. The man who, while his country is struggling and suffering as France has been, could calmly sit down to his studies and his reveries, would not be deserving of admiration. That so many are able to make contributions of so thoughtful a character upon passing events, is creditable to the intellect of the nation.

SCIENCE.

The Physics and Physiology of Spiritualism. By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M.D. etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 86. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1871.

"Spiritual manifestations" are not attracting so much attention as formerly, yet there is no doubt that they still have a wide and pernicious, though a more silent influence. The publication of this little book is, therefore, timely. Dr. Hammond has carefully studied mental diseases, and is well qualified to treat this subject, not only from a scientific, but a common-sense standpoint. His style is terse, and his arguments and illustrations are effective.

"There is an inherent tendency in the mind of man to ascribe to supernatural agencies those events the causes of which are beyond his knowledge; and this is especially the case with the normal and morbid phenomena which are manifested in his own person."—(p. 7.)

This extract will give an idea of the tenor of the treatise. The Dr. believes in science, and in a "healthy skepticism which allows of no belief without the proof." Only men who have the courage to doubt and the ability to reason can be trusted with the investigation of phenomena which startle, and frequently unbalance the ordinary intellect.

"The real and fraudulent phenomena of what is called spiritualism are of such a character as to make a profound impression upon the credulous and the ignorant."—(p. 8.)

"Their minds are decidedly fetish-worshiping in character, and are scarcely, in this respect of a more elevated character than that of the Congo negro."—(p. 9.)

Admitting all this to be true, and we have no doubt about it, the question is, how shall we cure those people of their delusion? By teaching them a little plain common-sense, if that be possible. With some the effort may be successful, while others will consult spiritual mediums, and will injure themselves, mentally and physically, as heretofore, notwithstanding all the warnings that can be uttered by cultivated reason. Dr. Hammond believes these manifestations to be in many cases the result of disease.

"As regards purely imaginary images, that is, images not based on any sensorial impression—the difficulty is in the brain."—(p. 9.)

He rejects the idea that table-turning, rappings, etc., are produced by the electricity of the body, though this opinion has been adopted by many who wished to give some rational account of these phenomena. The mind he declares, is not all in the brain. "The spinal chord and sympathetic system are capable of originating certain kinds of mental influence."—(p. 12.) Further, he admits that the physiology of the nervous system is not even tolerably understood by medical men. That all the so-called spiritual phenomena are explicable by science, he contends does not admit of doubt. He gives many examples of physical derangement producing manifestations, quite as startling as any of those exhibited by spiritual mediums, and yet are unquestionably referable to not always-understood physical causes. Sleight of hand performers have given exhibitions quite as unaccountable to the uninitiated as the displays of pretended spirits. The gist of the matter, as it affects the majority of believers in spiritualism, is given by the Dr. in these words:

"There can be no scientific inquiry relative to matters of faith; facts alone admit of investigation."—(p. 13.)

"Spiritualism is a religion. As such it is held tenaciously and honestly by many well meaning people."—(p. 85.)

It is useless to reason with people who regard table-turnings and rappings, as revelations from the spirit world; yet some light may be let in upon even such misty intellects, and Dr. Hammond's book, written in the interest of reason and common-sense, will, we hope, do good.

The Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato, the new Scientific Universal Language. By STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS, member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc., etc. 12 mo. pp. xvi, 224. New York: Dion Thomas, 1871.

The attempt of Mr. Andrews to discover and promulgate a new science of sciences, or "a science of the universe itself," is certainly daring. The very pretension of having discovered such would, naturally, attract attention, while at the same time the boldness of the claim will excite ridicule. Yet such a claim, being put forward by one of highly respectable attainments, believed to be an honest and earnest thinker, is worthy of careful consideration. We may not flippantly reject what purports to be a revelation of all-important truth because it promises too much.

We think it was unfortunate for the acceptance of Mr. Andrews' philosophy that he was induced, contrary to his own judgment, to put forth this primary synopsis in advance of the complete exposition of his system. Such a theory, requiring thorough and abstruse philosophical demonstration, cannot well be popularized at once; it must be examined and accepted by the few—and they are very few—who are capable of comprehending it, before being presented to the many. When it is offered to the general public it must be in a diluted form and by those who know how to use the language of the people. Mr. Andrews, judging from this volume, is not the one to present new truths in such a garb as will secure the attention of the majority; but if he were so, it would furnish a reason for doubting his claims.

The terminology of this work is unique, and to many it will be repellant. From this it does not follow that the thought is not worthy of study. "It is the test of a solid thought that it will bear a change of clothing." Whatever is really valuable in this new philosophy will live and have its effect, however unusual or unattractive its garb. It may be that the thought in this book could not well be expressed in more popular style without interfering with its clearness and accuracy, as addressed to those who will be likely to comprehend it; but just here is the point of our objection to an attempt to popularize such high-climbing theories.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an exposition of a new universal language, which it is claimed has its foundations in nature and science. The style of demonstration is such that only those of boundless faith and indefatigable industry will be likely to attempt to master the principles here laid down. Be this as it may there is food or thought in the book, and we hope that the complete statement of the system will show it to possess valuable elements. The time and ability expended upon it ought certainly to produce some beneficial results.

Fur, Fin, and Feather: a compilation of the Game Laws of the principal States and Provinces of the United States and Canada; together with a list of Hunting and Fishing Localities, and other useful Information for Gunners and Anglers. Pamphlet, pp. 222. New York: M. B. Brown & Co. 1871.

Gunning and fishing are less popular in America than would naturally be expected from the excellent facilities which it affords for such sports; or than we think would be beneficial to a people who work their brains and nervous systems as we do. A love of gaiety and flirting draws many to the springs and seaside resorts who would find more healthful recreation among the forests and by the streams where fish and game abound.

This compilation of game laws supplies information which all intent on field sports should possess. Our legislators have been compelled to pass laws restricting the destruction of game and fish, and those laws should be understood by all sportsmen. They are founded upon the nature and habits of animals, and are designed to secure the preservation and propagation of game. They also offer suggestions to humanity, which the ignorant and the careless should be compelled to heed. This work also contains information regarding hunting and fishing localities, outfits, and other matters interesting to the sportsmen.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD AND, INDIFFERENT.

Reports of Insurance Companies.—Reports of Insurance Superintendents —Insurance Commissioners, etc. New York, Hartford, Boston and Philadelphia. June, 1871.

Dulness in the insurance world at this season is nothing unusual. Whatever exercises mind and body to any considerable extent, must suffer more or less from the upward tendency of the thermometer. There is, however, another cause of depression at this time; but, it is one which, when calmly and carefully examined, proves to be much disproportioned to its effect on a certain class of minds. We allude to the failure of two or three insurance companies, and to the unfounded rumors circulated by interested parties, attributing insolvency or dishonesty to some of the strongest and most faithful companies in America. In this there is nothing strange—nothing peculiar to underwriting.

Let only two or three silk houses fail within the ensuing quarter, there are those who would shake their heads and say that the silk business is no longer to be relied upon. Nor would there be wanting silk merchants who would point to their rivals, and insinuate that all was not right in that quarter; and, as not more than one-third of mankind ever reason even in the most enlightened communities, the plan of those merchants would succeed to a considerable extent, at least for a while. There would not be much use in telling the thoughtless ones that the ladies had entered into no combination to eschew the use of silk, and that the gentlemen, too, were still rather partial to that fabric. In short, were the world to give heed to the predictions of the timid, the thoughtless, the selfish and the evil-disposed, it should regard those institutions most dear to mankind, and which have longest exercised their beneficent influence, as constantly about to pass out of existence.

Perhaps none have criticised insurance companies more freely than we have ourselves; but we have never done so because we thought underwriters as a body less honest, or more disposed to impose on the credulous than those engaged in any other business regarded as respectable. At no time have we entertained any such opinion; on the contrary, we have always thought, that, with comparatively few exceptions, there is no more respectable or more honorable guild than the fraternity of American underwriters. And that life insurance, especially, has a much greater tendency to purify than to vitiate the minds of those engaged in it, could easily be proved. But no one who reflects, and is capable of a generous emotion, requires any further proof of the fact than to remember how constantly must the mind of the life underwriter be occupied by the saddest forms of human misery, and the means devised by affection and prudence for their alleviation.

Thus it was that although we had ourselves predicted more than once the failure of companies like the Great Western Mutual, and the Farmers' and Mechanics', and finally, when they did fail, or were officially declared unfit to live, thought that, upon the whole, their death would be a benefit rather than a loss to the public, we were struck with the injustice done to the Knickerbocker Life by a certain class of its policy-holders, even before it had uttered one word in its own defence.

We were too well aware of what the Knickerbocker had done during the past decade for the widow and the orphan to be led by a Bowery meeting, composed of about two dozen persons, scarcely acquainted with the language in which they uttered their denunciations, to question for a moment its integrity. But had it been otherwise—had we belonged to the class who, when the best men are assailed by the worst, are ready to exclaim "I told you so!" we could not long have entertained the notion that Mr. Lyman was recreant to his trust without stultifying ourselves; for every circumstance developed by the charges preferred against him contributed to his vindication until it was rendered complete and triumphant by the official report of the superintendent of the Insurance Department. It is creditable to our leading journals, both daily and weekly, that although some of them were induced to publish the representations of the Bowery "protestors," all hastened to do full justice to the good old Knickerbocker on the real facts becoming known. As a specimen of the manly "fair play" thus shown, we extract a passage from an elaborate article in the Herald of May 18, on the "Effect of Legislation on Insurance Companies":

"In the case of the Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company, it should be reassuring to know that certain vague complaints industriously circulated of late against this old and very popular company have been silenced by the official report of Mr. G. W. Miller, the vigilant and energetic Superintendent of the Insurance Department of the State of New York. After a prolonged and thorough investigation, Mr. Miller finds 'that the Knickerbocker has honorably and promptly met and discharged all legitimate claims, the gross sum paid for such claims upon policies since its organization amounting to $2,881,849, besides dividends paid to policy-holders amounting to $995,424.'' The Superintendent also states with pleasure, that 'the company has adopted the policy of as rapidly as possible abandoning the ''note'' system and effecting insurances upon the all cash basis, and that with this and other improved methods of business already established, the company has every prospect of continued success.' Notwithstanding the thorough sifting to which its assets have been subjected, the Superintendent refers to the lowest estimate of the surplus of its assets over its liabilities as 'showing the company to be entirely solvent and entitled to the confidence of its policy-holders and the public.,''

Still more emphatic, if possible, is the testimony of the most respectable of the insurance journals. As in the case of the daily papers there seems to be but one feeling pervading all in regard to the whole matter. What this feeling is, may be seen from the following extract from an article in the Spectator for the present month, with the significant heading "The Thug Warfare in Life Insurance":—

"Here was a company which for years had suffered defamation and libel from the Thugs of life insurance in every quarter. The utmost fertility of resource seems to have been ex-

hausted by a reckless and abandoned opposition in its wretched efforts to compass the disgrace and discredit of this company. The ingenuity of its enemies in devising unheard-of detestable methods of detraction can scarcely be described, except in such terms as Jacquemont uses with respect to the Thugs of India. Every possible means of villification was called in to lend its aid to the purposes of the corps of disreputable conspirators who were thus engaged. Nothing in the whole history of life insurance appears to us half so disgraceful as this wholesale crusade against a company, whose only offence was its refusal to retaliate. It is difficult to explain how this unnatural antagonism originated, or why it was kept alive."

In this there is nothing new to our readers. It is not for its novelty we have reproduced it, but for its ample corroboration of what we have many a time asserted in these pages; in other words, we have reproduced it because it bears testimony to the existence of a system which we have repeatedly denounced as base and suicidal. Doubtless we have sometimes been regarded as harsh by those unacquainted with the facts, in criticising the conduct of companies like the New York Life in regard to the best of their rivals. It may be remembered that several years ago we remonstrated with this company against its efforts to disparage its competitors; and on various occasions since we have condemned those efforts as unworthy. But the Knickerbocker was but one of several companies whose success seemed to give considerable pain to some of the officers of this company. We well remember that the Equitable, the Manhattan and the Security used to give quite as much offence to those gentlemen by the progress they were making. Nor was it merely New York companies whose energy, perseverance and increasing prosperity were thus provoking; such companies belonging to other cities as the New England Mutual, the Phœnix Mutual, the Ætna, the Mutual Benefit, and the Charter Oak, had become equally obnoxious. We have also a pretty vivid recollection of the fact that editors who could not see the matter in the same light were regarded as sadly wanting in perception, and as deserving anything but kind and courteous treatment.

The New York Life is very much misrepresented, if in issuing pamphlets and trying to excite the prejudices of editors against its rivals, if it has not availed itself of political influence in a way which would hardly be deemed legitimate by the upright men of any party. It is, we believe, on some such ground as this, that one of its plans in regard to southerners has received from the Baltimore Underwriter—one of the ablest and most honest insurance journals in this country—the title of "Iron-Clad Insurance." How appropriate, or inappropriate this is, we shall not undertake to decide, but refer the curious reader to the Underwriter, whose editor is a scholar as well as a writer. At all events, we allude to the circumstance here only because we are informed that politics had not a little to do with the anti-Knickerbocker Bowery meeting. It seems there were those who pretended that because the Knickerbocker has among its directors and policy-holders, men like Judge Barnard of the New York Supreme Court, Mr. John Anderson, the Judge's father-in-law (a wealthy capitalist), Mr. Alexander Wheless, president of New Orleans National Bank, and Mr. Henry

Brigham, president of Merchants' National Bank, Savannah, it follows that the company must be a mere political machine!

It is but recently we have learned that these gentlemen are numbered among the directors of the Knickerbocker; but had the fact been otherwise, it would have increased, much rather than diminished, our confidence in the strength and stability of the company. That this would have been our view, especially in regard to Judge Barnard, many, if not all of our readers are aware, for we have frequently had occasion to mention that gentleman in our discussions. Thus for expample, we did so in our number for last December, in commenting on the conduct of the Guardian in refusing to pay the widow of Dr. Koelges, the amount it had insured on his life; and what we thought and believed may be inferred from the following remark with which we closed our criticisms:

"Be this as it may, we feel satisfied that so far as the matter is in his power—that is, so far as the law allows—the cause of the widow will be safe in the hands of Judge Barnard."*

We had good reason for this faith; it was the result of careful observation extending over many years, and was entirely free from political bias. We wrote thus six months ago, and we have seen sufficient since to convince us that we were entirely correct. Nay, we have now before us, what in our mind, not only proves that Judge Barnard is the friend of the widow, but also that the title "Iron Clad Insurance" is by no means inappropriate as applied by Dr. Bombauch to the New York Life; for, taking up the New York Times of this morning (June 24), we find among its Supreme Court reports the following paragraph:

"EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON LIFE POLICIES.

"Sands *vs.* The New York Life Insurance Company. The plaintiff's husband, a resident in Mobile, was insured by the defendant in 1850, and paid his premiums regularly to the Company's agent in Mobile, down to 1862, in which year he died, The civil war breaking out in 1861, and the last premium being paid in 1862, the defendants claimed that that alone, or at any rate the President's non-intercourse proclamation ended the contract with the deceased, he becoming an alien enemy, and brought to an end the agency of their agent in Mobile. The plaintiff obtained judgment and the defendants appealed.

"The Court held (Judge Barnard delivering the opinion), that the breaking out of the civil war did not suspend the agency of the Mobile agent, or vitiate the policy. Judge Barnard says it would be the height of injustice if the deceased should be deprived of the benefit of many payments on the policy by no act or fault of his of the benefit of the policy. It should not be the policy of the law to increase the defences of life insurance companies as against persons honestly insuring with them."

If this be not a righteous judgment we confess we do not know what is worthy of that name. At all events, there are not many intelligent men or

* N. Q. R. No. XLIII, p. 212.

women who will believe that the judge who delivers it, or who promulgates such views, is not a safe director for a life insurance company, let his political opinions be what they may. That the New York Life would hardly consider him safe, is highly probable; but would the Widow Sands, or widows in general who read the above decision, regard him in the same light?

We have never devoted so much space and attention to any one company as we have here to the Knickerbocker Life. We have taken these pains because, although we freely censure those whose conduct seems reprehensible, it is a much more agreeable task to us to congratulate those we know to have been unjustly accused on having, like Mr. Lyman and his colleagues, fully vindicated themselves.

There is not one of the companies which we have mentioned above as having, in turn, excited the jealousy of the New York Life, whose integrity we would not vindicate, if similarly assailed, quite as readily and as fully as we have that of the Knickerbocker. And were it otherwise—did we take pleasure in presenting only the dark side of the picture, seeking to obscure the bright side, or conceal it altogether from view—we should consider ourselves both unjust and unphilosophical, altogether unworthy of the confidence with which our readers have always honored us.

At the same time we have always held that it is better to allow the honest and faithful to take care of themselves even when they are most unjustly assailed, than to give any countenance to those whose operations seem of a doubtful character. It is well known that none resent criticism more than those who deserve it most; none put themselves to greater rounds in order to be revenged. This, indeed, is to be expected; but he cannot consider himself a critic who is afraid to criticise lest he may be abused. That we do not belong to this class, we think we need hardly remind our readers. Accordingly no public writer in this country has been more reviled by malefactors. The quack underwriters have vied with the quack doctors in getting up scurrilous pamphlets for our benefit, and almost forcing them into the hands and pockets of railway travellers as free gifts. Firmly believing, as we do, that such contrivances rarely, if ever, injure any one except their authors, we claim no credit for having always refused to be frightened or intimidated by them.

But discarding all idea of retaliation, to us it is always really an unpleasant task to put the public on its guard, even in the gentlest manner possible, against any particular company or party. This has been our feeling in regard to companies which may be said to have been duly tried, condemned and executed. As an instance of this, we need only mention the late Great Western Mutual, whose ignominious demise we had confidently predicted years before the event occurred.

Our readers may remember that we have more than once expressed our fears that several other institutions would be brought to an untimely end by their peculiar system of operations. It may be seen by reference to our recent numbers that for some time we had regarded an institution entitled

"The American Tontine Life and Savings Insurance Company" as likely to be one of the first to pass out of existence. Judging from various bulletins we have lately seen, the event has already occurred. As a specimen of these, we extract the following from a paragraph in the New York Underwriter for April:

"It would spare the State Insurance Superintendent a huge amount of trouble and disagreeable official surgery if the following quartette of struggling Life Companies would put their houses in order and amalgamate or reinsure in some way to avoid further receiver ship process, viz: American Popular, American Tontine, Amicable, Metropolitan. One passably good company might be made up out of the heterogeneous lot at a saving of three-fourths of future expenses. The process of amalgamation or reinsuring need not-however, end with the above mentioned four companies. It could be profitably applied to about half a-dozen more which are in a languishing state in this city."

Time there was—not many years ago—when remarks of this kind were regarded by the insurance journals as high treason against the insurance fraternity. We often tried to convince them that this was a grave mistake. Whether we can claim to have been instrumental in producing the change or not, we are glad that it has taken place, for the public will undoubtedly profit by it. Most cheerfully do we bear testimony to the fact that the Insurance Times and the Insurance Monitor have also very much improved in this, as well as in other respects, although they still leave room for improvement. Both indulge now in sharp criticisms; but they too generally confine their criticisms to the feeble and puny. Why not grapple with those whose iniquities have made them rich, if not strong? This is what the Baltimore Underwriter has done; and who does not esteem Dr. Bombauch for his courage and intrepidity, altogether independently of the substantial service which he renders to the widow and the orphan, by teaching them how to distinguish their friends from their foes. But we have to return for a moment to the Tontine Life and Savings. In another page of the number of the New York Underwriter, from which we have already quoted, we find a paragraph commencing thus:

"General Ludlow has resigned the Presidency of this Company in order to leave his hands free to forward the development of his valuable property at Islip."

We wish the "General" had resigned long before; but it would have been much better had he always kept "his hands free to forward the development of his valuable property at Islip." Indeed, whether we were right or wrong, this idea occurred to us as soon as we learned that he wished to pay his bills in Tontine insurance, and our readers may remember that we did not hesitate to say so in these pages. Although we have suffered somewhat ourselves by the "General's" peculiar mode of disbursement, having never received any payment, but an offer of a Tontine policy for a long advertisement which that gentleman ordered for a year, but which we at once excluded on being made such an offer—we assure our readers that we never

would have mentioned the matter here, had we not learned that this was by no means the only "new feature" by which the Tontine wished to serve the public.

We might, perhaps, have been persuaded to take a Tontine policy, however, for what was due to us; but we remembered having received a similar document from the Globe Mutual, which, although given to us as an equivalentfor about fifty dollars,we would sell anybody for fifty cents, or less. Since the president of the Globe Mutual claimed great honor on the ground of being the inventor, or author of the "*non*-forfeiting plan,"which in our case at least, proved the "*forfeiting* plan," we had no wish to receive any further payments in that sort of coin. But let us transcribe the close of the Underwriter's second paragraph, which runs thus:

"We are pleased to learn just as we are closing up this paper, that on Gen. Ludlow's retirement the stockholders have resolved to reinsure the policies and wind up the company."

So are we entirely "pleased;" nor have we heard of any one who is displeased except the "General" and his colleagues, but, no doubt, those worthy gentlemen will derive considerable consolation in their retirement from the "development of their valuable property."

How many more are likely to be placed on the retired list before the end of the year, we have not now either the time or the inclination to determine. Suffice it to say, that most probably the number will prove startling if not respectable. At the same time there is as little reason as ever to question the utility of life insurance; nor is it questioned by the intelligent class. It is only the thoughtless who mistrust all insurance companies, because some insurance companies never really worthy of the name, have done exactly what such might have been expected to do, and then given up the ghost in accordance with a law much more ancient, and more irrevocable than any ever enacted at Albany. Those American companies that ever had any stability have it still. We might go over the whole list of those we have ever mentioned as sound and faithful, and ask which is otherwise to-day.

Thus, for example, what sensible person thinks the less of the incalculable good done by the Manhattan Life, because the Tontine Life and Savings has done much more harm than good? Is the Phœnix Mutual less faithful, or less benovelent to-day than it was a year or seven years ago, because the Great Western Mutual has proved that it was never either faithful or benevolent? In what does the American Popular Life resemble the Security Life save in the generic name "insurance company," that the latter should be judged by the former? Would it not be just as reasonable to judge gold by brass, because when the latter is burnished its color bears some resemblance to that of the other, though only for a few minutes? Does it follow that because the New York Life refuses to pay the Southern widow on the ground that her husband

was, or may have been, a rebel, that the New England Mutual would have recourse to a similar subterfuge, thereby contradicting all the leading facts and incidents in its unsullied history? Because the Guardian Life forces the widow of Dr. Koelges (once its own physician) to bring it to trial four or five times to recover the amount it had insursed on her husband's life—the company availing itself of the money of its policy-holders to appeal again and again against the just verdict of the jury—should it be inferred that the Charter Oak or the Ætna would be guilty of similar conduct?

Supposing a dozen languishing companies failed, or were executed by Sheriff Miller during the next quarter, who should be frightened? We could mention quite that number in addition to the moribund concerns we have already mentioned, and confidently ask, would it not be a blessing rather than a misfortune to the public that they had passed out of existence? No doubt so many deaths occurring nearly simultaneously would cause a panic among a certain class; so great a mortality would excite fears of a general epidemic. But it would be seen on a little reflection that no healthy companies had either died or sickened, but that on the contrary, this class grew more and more vigorous, and did so in accordance with a law much less questionable than the Darwinian theory.

Besides the strong, stable companies already named as off-sets to companies that are neither strong nor stable, there would remain institutions like the Equitable and the New York Continental, whose coffers are as freely open to those entitled to draw upon them—and as well secured and inexhaustible withal—as those of the Park Bank. We believe that in no other banking institution in the world are depositors more courteously, or more obligingly treated than in the good old Park; yet several of the representative companies we have mentioned above, including the much-abused Knickerbocker, are just as courteous and obliging to those of their policy-holders as are either one or the other, themselves.

Alluding to the Park Bank and its unostentatious, solid *Worth*, reminds us that one of the insurance depositors in its famous vaults has just crossed the Atlantic for the purpose of establishing agencies in the principal cities of Europe—we mean Mr. Edward A. Jones, president of the National Life, one of the best managed and most faithful of our metropolitan companies. By a similar juxtaposition, we are reminded of a company, which, although yet but a stripling, is not the less promising or the less vigorous for not being metropolitan, at least in its origin. New Jersey, not content with nurturing so stalworth and stable an institution as the Mutual Benefit, has already established another good company, on which she has bestowed her own name; for we do not hesitate to believe, especially since we have read the report of Superintendent Miller, declaring its business "systematically and honorably conducted," and its financial condition "entitled to public confidence,"—that the New Jersey Mutual Life is one of the few companies destined to a long, useful and honorable career.

The Asbury Life, which we have always regarded as honest and modest, has recently undergone some modifications in its *personnel*. Its first

president and secretary have retired and been succeeded respectively by other gentlemen who are highly spoken of, but strangers to us. We are informed that Mr. C. C. North, the new president, is a New York merchant of unsullied reputation, and that he has been one of the company's leading directors since its commencement in 1868. The United States Life has been making a change of another character. Stimulated by the new vigor infused into it by Mr. John De Witt, its present energetic and intelligent president, it has removed from Wall street to one of the finest white marble palaces in Broadway.

The most startling event that has occurred in the Fire insurance world since our last, is the failure of the Commonwealth Company. Mr. Miller seems to have done the best in his power for the policy-holders of the now defunct corporation. He has appointed Mr. William M. Tweed, Jr., receiver, and Mr. Tweed has appointed Mr. Joseph S. Bosworth, Jr., referee. Party strife, unhappily runs so high in this city, that a portion of our readers at a distance will not be likely to regard these as good appointments. But there is really no reason for any such opinion. Both the gentlemen mentioned belong to the bar of New York; and who will say, on reflection, that they are aught the worse because the father of the one is a State Senator and president of the New York city Board of Public Works, while the father of the other is an ex-judge of the Superior Court and the present president of our Board of Health? At all events, we who judge men, not by their creed, but by their conduct, think that if any feeling should be entertained towards the receiver and referee of the Commonwealth on account of the positions occupied by their parents, it should be one in their favor. Those who criticise Mr. Tweed, Sr.; most, admit that he is a man of kind and generous impulses; and we have never heard any one deny that Judge Bosworth proved eminently faithful, as well as learned, on the bench. But had it been otherwise in each case, would it not be grossly unjust to pre-judge the action of young Messrs. Tweed and Bosworth on that ground, in the case under consideration, or in any other?

It is but too true that there are several other fire companies that could not be better disposed of, so far as the public is concerned, than by placing them at once in the hands of a receiver. Such a course, in regard to some that are well known to be in a sickly state, would prevent much mischief. As for sparing those in whose systems the premonitory symptoms of inanition have already manifested themselves, merely to avoid putting them to expense which might cause them to die in convulsions, and thereby produce too much scandal, it is but a spurious sort of prudence. Those most particularly interested should bear in mind that there are fire as well as life companies whose coffers are occasionally robbed by their own officers; another fact which it would be well to remember, is that it is not those fire companies that have most money that make most display, but, in general, those that have least of it. There are a certain class in all countries, who never make so fine an appearance in public, as when they are on the verge of bankruptcy. It is true that

fine clothes, fine equipages, or even fine houses cannot long conceal the catastrophe, but they may do so long enough to inflict much injury on those whose faith is larger than their judgment or perception. Be this as it may, those fire companies, in which we have most implicit confidence—though not because they have more wealth than others, for they may not have as much, but because they have more integrity—have no ambition to make a great display. It is needless to mention the names here of those we allude to; they are sufficiently known to our readers. Suffice it to say that if all were like them, there would be no need for either receivers or referees.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXIII. No. XLVI. SEPT., 1871.

NEW YORK:

EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

658 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS:

NEW YORK: AMERICAN NEWS CO., 121 NASSAU STREET. PHILADELPHIA: JAMES K. SIMON, SOUTH SIXTH STREET. LONDON: TRUBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW. PARIS: VICTOR ALEXI, 19 RUE DU MAIL.

1871.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1871, by EDWARD I. SEARS, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

GRAND HOTEL,

PARIS,

12 Boulevard des Capucines, 12

Re-opened, after being entirely restored.

The prices of the Grand Hotel have been greatly reduced by the new directors.

The charge for Service will be no more paid by travellers.

700 ROOMS & DRAWING ROOMS,

VERY COMFORTABLY FURNISHED,

From 5 francs a day, Service included.

TABLE D'HOTE.

Breakfasts at 4 francs (wine included), every day from 11 A.M. till 1 P.M. Dinners at 6 francs (wine included), every day at 6 P.M. precisely.

DINNERS A LA CARTE.

SPECIAL SERVICE AT FIXED PRICES,

Including lodging, fuel, light, service and food, with the choice of taking the meals in private apartments, at the restaurant, or at the table d'hote.

First class, per day, 30 francs—24s. 6d.
Second class, per day, 25 francs—20s. 5d.
Third class, per day, 20 francs—16s. 4d.

12 BOULEVARD DE CAPUCINES 12, PARIS.

CONTENTS OF NO. XLVI.

ART. PAGE.

I. THE DECLINE OF POETRY, ... 207

1. Ἡ Ποιητικη. (*The Poetics.*) By ARISTOTLE.

2. *Die Geschichte Der Literatur.* (*History of Literature*). By FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL.

3. *Theatrum Poetarum.* By EDWARD PHILLIPS.

4. *Essays on the Poets.* By THOMAS DEQUINCEY.

II. ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS, ... 228

1. HOLINSHED'S *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In six volumes. A historicall description of the Iland of Britaine; with a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England and such commodities as are to be found in the same,* comprehended in three bookes and written by W. H. (WILLIAM HARRISON.)

2. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M. A.

3. *England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the contemporary history of Europe, illustrated in a series of original letters never before printed,* with historical introductions and biographical and critical notes. By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER ESQ., author of "The History of Scotland," etc.

III. THE FRENCH TRAGIC DRAMA—CORNEILLE, ... 256

Œuvres de P. CORNEILLE, *avec le Commentaire de* VOLTAIRE, *sur les Pièces de Theatre, et des Observations critiques sur ce Commentaire, par le Citoyen* PALISSOT.

IV. OUR ARISTOCRACY AS MANUFACTURED FROM THE RAW MATERIAL, ... 277

Newspapers of various kinds, Tinted and Untinted, devoted wholly or partly to the "Movements of society", and to certain new forms of what is vulgarly called Jenkinsism, Flunkeyism, etc., etc.

ART. PAGE

V. ANCIENT AFRICA AND ITS RACES, ... 296

1. *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa.* By HENRY BARTH.

2. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries.* By DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

3. *Prehistoric Nations.* By JOHN D. BALDWIN, A. M.

4. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa.* By REV. DR. J. LEWIS KRAPF.

5. *Journal of Discovery to the Source of the Nile.* By J. H. SPEKE.

VI. AMERICAN COLONIAL LITERATURE, ... 315

1. *Publications of the Narragansett Club* (First Series).

2. *Historical Collections of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.*

3. *Encyclopedia of American Literature, embracing personal and Critical Notices of Authors and Selections from their writings, etc.* By EVERT A. DUYCKINCK and GEO. L. DUYCKINCK.

VII. COLLEGIATE AND SCHOLASTIC QUACKERY, MALE AND FEMALE, ... 337

Catalogues, Prospectuses, and Circulars of Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, Academies, etc., etc., Male and Female.

VIII. THE "SPITEFUL" NATIONAL QUARTERLY AND INNOCENT RING-LEADER RULE, ... 357

1. *The Injunction Proceedings against the City Government.*

2. *The Central Park under Ring-Leader Rule.* Third edition.

IX. NOTICES AND CRITICISMS, ... 373

Belles-Lettres, ... 373
History and Biography, ... 377
Science, ... 385
Miscellaneous, ... 389

X. APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD AND INDIFFERENT, . 395

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. XLVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1871.

ART. I.—1. Ἡ Ποητικὴ. (*The Poetics.*) By ARISTOTLE.

2. *Die Geschichte Der Literatur.* (*History of Literature*). By FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL. Vienna.

3. *Theatrum Poetarum.* By EDWARD PHILLIPS. London.

4. *Essays on the Poets.* By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. London. 1857.

EVERYTHING which has a past must have a history; and in so far as that past is the most important part of the existence of anything, so far will its history be interesting and considerble. The unusual attention which the best intellect and taste of our time are bestowing upon poetic criticism and interpretation, leads to the inquiry as to whether the history of poetry is not the best and largest part of poetry,—whether that gem in the literary diadem has ceased to shine with its pristine brilliancy,—whether that choice variety in the family of letters is becoming evermore rarer,—whether that species of soul-life, which has its external manifestation in the grateful forms of poesy, is approaching decay. All kinds of life have a period of incipiency and germinal confinement, from which, by the operation of well-adjusted forces within and without, they are gradually released and gradually raised, through various planes of advancement, to their full development. Having reached the realization of their germ, they descend to disorganization

and disintegration. But poetry is an exception to this rule of development as applied to literature. It seems to have been born simultaneously with the race of men. It does not appear to have had any chrysalis state, any period of development, any nascent condition; it never was a germ, it was always an organism; it never was a seed, it was always a flower. The records of humanity do not antedate its poetry. In fact, prehistoric humanity comes to us colored by the poetic prism. The earliest authentic accounts of the human race present it with a poetry as much as a religion. Indian history opens with the Ramayan and the Mahabharat; the earliest literature of Persia and Arabia, consist of the epics of Ferdusi and the Arabian Nights; the deeds of the ancient Germans, Hermann and Valleda, were celebrated in song; the general mythology of the north of Europe is preserved in the Edda, the oldest of all northern literature; and the poems of the unknown Ossian are the earliest Irish, Scotch and Norwegian specimens of literature. The history of the leading race of humanity commences with the Iliad, a poem of the highest type, evincing a symmetry, beauty and richness, a grace, power and dignity never since equalled.

All other species of literature had a nascent period and their growth and efflorescence have been marked and gradual. They have struggled for existence amid adverse influences, and attained their highest development only through energy and persistency. But poetry seemed to be naturally first and most potent in thought and life, and was completely the legitimate outcome of the earlier ages. Humanity was clothed in poetry like a rich robe from the first, just as the earth in her perfected physical existence was clothed with the most luxuriant and varied covering of vegetation. And whatever may have been the antecedent elements out of which poetic life was formed, and whatever may have been the order of development of the soul and its external manifestations, it is evident that history opens with the poetic man, and with man more truly, grandly and gloriously poetic than ever since; so that the history of the decline of poetry would be the whole history of poetry.

But it is the design of this article to notice only the general principles governing the decline of poetry. It is assumed that no

one who is well acquainted with the literature of the nineteenth century will attempt to compare the poetic productions of this period with those of earlier centuries. It is assumed that there is a general understanding among intelligent literary observers, that the present century is deficient both in the production of poetic literature, and in the presence of the corresponding spiritual elements—poetic thoughts and lives. The extent and quality of the declension will be most evident and best set forth in considering the law of poetic evolution and decadence.

A systematic review of poetry from a metaphysical point of view has not been attempted in modern times. We have had numerous critical analyses of single poems mainly with a design to discover their æsthetic, ethical or theological value. But no comprehensive effort has been made to reveal and formulate the deep psychological truths on which poetry rests. Much less have we been presented with any thorough discussions demonstrating the relation which poetry sustains to the general consciousness. It will therefore be necessary in this article to proceed to make the deepest explanation possible of the hidden principles underlying poetry as a psychical condition and a literary manifestation.

A correct definition, or at least a true idea of poetry will be most essential to this discussion. It will be necessary to premise that all is not poetry which is designed to be such and bears the name. Critics, those professors of the anatomy of literature, have long since made a distinction between *verse* and *poetry*, and have declared, with the approbation of common sense and with the sanction of good taste, that it is not the form in which the production appears, but the spirit which it embodies that makes it worthy the poetic naming. In the Poetics of Aristotle,* we find the view of the greatest critic of antiquity expressed thus: "A historian and a poet do not differ in that the one composes in verse and the other in prose; the history of Herodotus would be still a history, though written in verse."† "Homer and Empedocles possess nothing in common except

*Ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστοτελοῦ Ποιητικη. † Chapter ix.

the metre; therefore it is proper to call the one a poet, but the other rather a physiologist than a poet."* "Again, though one should write by mingling all the metres, as Chaeremon in his Centaur, a medley of metres, yet he would not deserve the name of poet."† There is more real poetic sentiment in the prattle of a child than in the versification of many a man. Much genuine poetry is wrapped up in prose; and the author is taken by surprise at the unintentional result, while the reader is equally delighted at the unexpected impression. Again, under the garb of versification and rhyme is found frequently nought but prosaic sentiment; and the poor disguised impostor wanders a while in the world of letters, then drops from thought and observation into the gulf of oblivion. Mere description, whatever may be its form or whatever may be its matter, is not poetry. The interpretation of the phenomena of the soul, the subtle, moving panorama of the inner life, the delineation of joys and sorrows, of passion and pain, of ecstacy and anguish, of love and hate, in all their modifications and degrees of intensity, is not necessarily poetry, though penned in verse. The description of the phenomena of matter, of ocean, sea and river, of mountain, plain and valley, however accurately, gracefully and beautifully done, is not essentially poetry, though it be presented to us in the arms of the muses and though its apparel be measured according to the best standard of versification. A work is not necessarily poetical because it is full of petals, blades and leaves, moonlight and starlight, blue sky and ether; or because it exhausts and appropriates the whole vocabulary of beautiful names, of lovely objects. A book that tells of human action when prompted by the purest, highest and holiest motives, that is filled with the recital of acts of tenderness, of piety, of charity, of devotion, of self-sacrifice, is not essentially a poem, no matter what may be its language or the arrangement thereof.

It is true that poetry has always been regarded as naturally united to rhythm. "Aristotle says that imitation, harmony and

---

* Chapter i. † Id.

rhythm are natural to us, and that these things were gradually developed in our natures from the beginning so that poetry was at first produced extemporaneously."* But whatever may be the truth of this Platonic sentiment (coming from Aristotelian sources), it is well established that poetry was not to be separated from its twin divinity, music; and music cannot be made without rhythm. The regular recurrence of vibrations is indispensable to the production of the simplest element of music—a single tone; in fact, this regularity of repetition is the distinguishing physical characteristic of music, and saves it from being mere sound or *noise*.* In the combination of musical tones, in the development of the art of music, rhythm is equally essential, and all the higher forms bear the deep impress of rhythmic movement. If, then, poetry was to be chanted, or intoned, or sung, or accompanied by musical instruments, it must accommodate itself to the absolute requirements of music; and allow itself to be measured for its garment.† Subsequent writers of poetry have, either by imitation, or because of a charming propriety, and the freedom of verbal arrangement allowed by versification, adhered to metrical expression, and often in the German and English languages, to both rhyme and rhythm. The element of *form* is not to be entirely excluded in obtaining a perfect criterion for poetry. The psychical state, nevertheless, which it is the province of the writer of any kind of literature to embody in representative form, must always be the prime factor for consideration.

Frederick Schlegel, in his History of Literature, Lect. II., makes some very good observations on poetry. "In my view," he says, "the nature and essence of poetry consist of invention, expression and inspiration." But many other forms of linguistic embodiment possess all of these elements—

---

* *Vide* Tyndall on Sound.

† The poetry of the ancients, instead of being represented to the eye by symbols was represented to the ear by sounds, and almost everything was sacrificed to euphony. The poets actually sung. Iliad, I. 1. Odyssey, VIII. 266; id. IX. 3. The old Greek tragedies all had a chorus, χορός, which sang a large part of the work presented. Æschylus, *Prom.* Sophocles, *Ant.* "Arma virumque cano," * * begins the *Æneid.*

for instance, the novel and the oration. And again he proceeds to say, "These same elements of poetry I have already designated as comprehending tradition, song and figure, which, seen from another standpoint, appear to be similar to the components just mentioned." But it will readily be seen that the first of the elements (if they can be called such) is a subject of which poetry may treat in common with other forms of literature; the second is only another name for poesy; and the third is the form of literal expression which is common to many styles of writing. Now the true test of poetry, the landmark by which the province of the poet is to be discovered and recognized, is not to be sought in its external and completed form, but in its origin, its inner and primal stage of existence —its chrysalis state. Away back in the deep caverns of the soul, where the waters of universal being burst upon the consciousness amid the darkness of mystery, ever generating fantastic forms—away back in the centre of the soul—poetry springs up from an inexhaustible fountain; and here we are to seek for its characteristics. We go back to the all-producing source; we seek the root of the aromatic plant which delights us all; we find the germ of the comely existence which by its very life, not to say its fulness of love and grace, has illumined us, and will not cease to charm us because it is so human and yet so divine; because it is so essential to perfect living both within and without. The ground-work of poetry, then, is the soul itself—it claims this merit preëminently. Poetry is one of those phases of soul-life which approximates very closely to the intuitional, and is quite normal and spontaneous. We may here venture to affirm that to be poetic is to be natural, and that the most eminent poets have found themselves borne aloft on the shoulders of human admiration and gratitude by daring to be simple and natural.

The fabric of poetry rests upon the basis of simplicity and self-projection; and self-projection is the primal activity of the soul. There is a tendency in the human mind to render every thing external to itself, and not itself, like itself. It invests all things at first, which come within its limited cognizance, with life and being, such as itself possesses. The soul is, on this account,

naturally full of faith;* and faith is the corner-stone of poetry. The enjoyment of all poetical exercise, whether of composition or of interpretation, is heightened in proportion as the individual feels that the poetic image is a reality—that it has an outside existence, an entity independent of the thought. The charm of reading poetry is in the temporary belief that the impersonal and insensate objects touched by the poet's wand are made to quicken into life and assisted to perform the functions of organized existences: to think, to feel, to speak, to act. This charm also resides in the transient self-persuasion that, when the poet personifies an abstraction, that personification possesses real individuality and conscious activities. The poet was rightly named; for, as the old Greek term *Ποιήτης* indicates, he is a maker, a creator. Divinity came near reproducing itself when this power of ideal evolution was put into humanity. Man knew himself—he became simply conscious of his being and life, and felt the everlasting thrill of psychical freedom, the pulsations of immortality; then he became conscious that there was something outside of himself, and, in his desire to know the not-self, he filled out his faint perception with a creation of his own creating, and nature was and did as he himself would have it. Who but a creator could make a forest "whisper," or a flower "weep," or the breezes "sigh?" But men whisper, and men weep, and men sigh, and by a natural and fundamental law of thought, the law of similitude of activities, nature was conceived to be equally sensitive, equally cognizant, and equally capable of enjoyment or suffering. This we infer to be the distinguishing characteristic of all poetry, whether conversant about nature, man, or God. The poetry of nature, of humanity, and of religion, have their origin in the capability of the soul to invest subjects and objects with a vesture they do not really possess, always providing that the investiture be in accordance with this natural law of similitude of activities.

This ideal evolution of mental and moral species it is

* Reid on the Human Mind, vi. 24.

the province of the poetic genius to accomplish, and the province of the poetic lover to admire. In any aspect we may choose to view the poet, he stands forth in a rudimentary and primitive character, always carrying the mind back to the first principles of self-projection, simplicity, spontaneity and personification. And in this respect he is the noblest of his kind—a creator. In prose the moon "shines" or "gives light;" poetry it is a "mildly beaming orb," "shedding silver light," "enthroned queen of the night." The poet makes the stars "the windows of heaven;" he makes the soft wind "gently kiss the trees", or dewdrops "sleep" on flowers, or plants "drink" "grateful" showers. And yet if you invest all nature with conscious life and personality, what is more natural than to suppose all its objects are thinking, feeling and doing, and naming their activities as human forms do? If man drinks when he is thirsty and is grateful, how must the dry and heated earth, "mother of all," quaff the dews of evening, or drink the rains of heaven in delight? Who but a creator could make the passions fierce animals, and the virtues jewels, anger a tiger, and modesty a ruby? Who but a creator could make the night a holy teacher and the day a being of light? How came chaos to be an ugly personage and order a comely child?

This creative element in poetry is what makes it the pride of the originator, the delight of humanity, the crowning work in literature. The pleasure of fancied creating is the highest that can be experienced by the human soul; for that is the attitude (the creative) in which Divinity appears the most incomprehensible and the most exalted. In poetry, above all other forms of literature, the life-giving, personifying power of the soul is most vigorously exercised. In poetry, out of small materials are constructed manifold specimens of extensive and beautiful architecture. Where there is no life, poetry puts life; where there is no power to feel, poetry puts feeling; where is no self-consciousness, poetry supplies it; where is no consciousness of man poetry puts friendship and companionship for him; where there is no individuality, poetry puts individuality; where there is an abstraction, poetry puts a personification; where there is nothing, poetry puts something. The implements

which the poet uses render his art one of great beauty and elegance; the specimens of his art, manifold and various. His workshop is the imagination, great laboratory of the mind, where all manner of conceptions are formed and combined, producing images of strange and fascinating appearance. His help meet is fancy—prolific generatrix of new types of ideal being—from which rise in manifold excellence and infinite grace, fairy forms that move to unhearable music. While other men are engaged in the heavy work of mental life, the poet practises the calisthenics of thought, and with wondrous elasticity vaults above his competitors before the admiring gaze of humanity. He ranges back and forth through the whole domain of soul-life; he mounts with eager, tireless wing, and scans the remotest boundaries of the universe of imaginative thought; he plunges into the profound ocean of human feeling. Then, returning, he pauses and traces the record memory has been keeping the while, of the immeasurable journey, the transcendent flight, and the unfathomable plunge. He feels that all things in mind and matter are personal and conscious; that every object knows us as we know it, and knows every other thing as it knows itself.

If this is the nature of poetry, every individual has more or less of poetry in him; but not every one possesses the power of interpreting the poetic phenomena of the soul. We have come now to the peculiar province of the poet which comprises the embodiment of the poetic thought, the development of a poetic literature. The utter artlessness, the surpassing simplicity, the native modesty, the extreme naturalness of the poetic state require the absolute surrender of the soul to it, and the complete subordination of other moods. The poet, in the accomplishment of his legitimate task, must cast aside the restraints of an artificial and realistic style. It will not do for him to prune his idea down to an established and conventional form. So soon as he attempts this conformation, the idea itself dwindles or vanishes, utterly darkling away into the mystic regions whence it came.

The poetic thought, though perfectly natural, is difficult to retain in mind long enough to find expression for it. It fears

imprisonment; it is subtle, shy, and hides itself when one looks for it, because it prefers to come into consciousness spontaneously, and return to its hidden home unfettered and unduplicated.

When all influences are favorable to the poetic state, the poet will set him down, and the poem will appear a sensible permanent reality, affixed to literature by the point of a pen, or breathed into the ear of mankind by the sound of the voice. The harp of poesy is like the Æolian harp that waits for the wild wind to waken its strings to melody. It lies in the castle window, idle and silent as the air around; but, when the restless wind comes, all manner of music is evoked from its quivering strings. The soul of the poet waits; he hangs out his harp, and the spirit air is moved. When the soul-winds blow soft, that harp is low and sweetly musical, and the poet writes a lyric, the poetry of love, of pity, of gentleness and affection; when they blow loud, that harp is grandly musical, and the poet writes an epic, the poetry of heroism and manhood, of courage and strength; when they blow wild and terrible, that harp thunders forth its wilderness of tones, and the poet writes the poetry of tragedy and war—the crash of the ideal tempest, mighty within, is represented in measured silence on a whitened page.

Such is poetry and the poetic art, irrespective of the period of its development. But when we affirm that the poetic state is a first and natural condition of the human soul, and that poetry is the realization of the poetic germ, the untrammelled outgrowth and faithful expression of this psychical state, we refer to a fact not only in the unconditioned nature of poetry, but in individual history and in the history of the world. The French philosophers (and we may say all philosophers *now*) divide the life of the individual into the religious, the philosophic, and the scientific periods corresponding to infancy, manhood, and age.* This division is scarcely complete unless we include in the religious period a kindred period which may be styled the poetic. But as many of the elements of religion and poetry

* *Vide* Works of M. Comte.

are common, especially the element of faith, it will best satisfy our purpose, and best answer the facts, to divide the life of the individual into the poetic, philosophic and scientific periods, the first period being the natural and primal state of the human mind, characterized as heretofore indicated; the second being somewhat removed from this primal and universal condition, and distinguished by the habitual endeavor of the soul to know causes and make deductions, and the last still further removed, and the resultant of discipline, the effect of a process of appropriating instead of projecting by the self-hood. It may be well to remark here that the characteristic state of the human soul in the scientific period of life is too often the reverse of poetic, and is produced by unduly checking the tendency of the soul to evolve itself and create new types of ideal being.

The history of the world reveals the same progressive differentiation in the psychological complexion of the human race and its corresponding literary manifestations. It shows the same characteristic division into periods of universal thought. And in the development of civilization, both national and universal, we can trace the successive regular periods—poetic, philosophic and scientific. What is the effect of a combination of either of these periods in the individual thought with a different period in the universal thought, it would be difficult to state with exactitude. Nevertheless, the composition of psychical and literary forces is governed by laws which are as fixed as the composition of vital or mechanical forces. A force in the individual character, tending to drive one into poetic, mental modifications and corresponding literary embodiment, when combined with a force in the universal character tending to press him into scientific or philosophic psychical states and corresponding literary manifestations, must produce a resultant somewhat different from either of its components. It is not within the province of this article to test the approximate truth of these theories of character and its manifestation. But the author of a great work in literature is comparatively little influenced by his own peculiar characteristics. He ascends into the high and clear atmosphere of liberal interpretation of the great universal

thought of the age. The relation of any department of literature to the universal consciousness is like the relation of mental characteristics to physical surroundings—to climate and vegetation. It is a well-recognized fact that climatic surroundings, and the condition of the vegetable environment, influence largely the physical temperament of the inhabitant, and finally his mental temperament.* The cold atmosphere and low vegetable vitality of the north are found in conjunction with a mental life of great vigor and clearness, but a low, emotional vitality. The warm atmosphere and luxuriant vegetation of the equatorial regions are found to support a humanity of strong emotions and warm affections, but a torpid intellect. No less apparent is the influence of an age on its literature. The civilization, the universal thought of any period must modify largely the productions of its literary minds. And if it is the province of the poet, at all times, to yield to the tendency of the poetic genius to create and personify, and if the department of soul-life which poetry expresses and administers be purely natural and universal, it was peculiarly his province to be simple, credulous and creative in the early ages of the world. To be poetic in a strictly poetic period was the most natural and appropriate thing. When the lack of absolute and accurate knowledge of nature, religion and humanity was supplied in the common life of the race by creations of the fancy; when all things in heaven and earth and under the earth and in the sea, were supposed to have life and sensitive being and conscious power; when personification took the place of all abstraction, and self-projection was the characteristic and well-nigh exclusive attitude of the human mind toward all else, poetry was in a most flourishing condition; and being the true expression of the universal soul-life, attained a success which can never be equalled. The Iliad of Homer remains the greatest of all great poems, and commands the admiration and the study of the greatest poets of this, the scientific period of the world.†

* *Vide* Guizot's Earth and Man.

† We are not concerned at present in the Homeric controversy; and the unity of the Homeric poems, and the identity or individuality of their author

When the human race had advanced to the philosophic period and the middle ages, the complexion of human life was modified and the poetic state presented mixed phenomena. To be purely poetic in a philosophic period was not easy, nor was it requisite and fitting. With the advancement of the logical mind, and the increase of intelligence, men were less inclined to believe in the reality of what their souls projected outward, and the philosophic spirit had not only seized advanced thinkers —the schoolmen, the mystics and the monks—and become the prominent element in the literature of the middle ages, but the universal thought was likewise affected. But the philosophic period produced that magnificent poem, the *Divina Commedia*, a sublime combination of poetry and philosophy in verse.

It is true that there were many other poems in both of these periods that did not bear the distinctive impress of which we speak, but they were not fair exponents of the universal poetic life of their time, and their less merits and their transient success only verify the theory we are proposing, that the province of the poet varies according to the age in which he lives.* But poetry and philosophy have more affinities and less antagonisms, and may be more easily united than poetry and science; and the difficulty of producing a great and universally admired poem in the present age will become evident.

The relations of external objects were once regarded as presided over by innumerable spirits differing according to the object of their care. Then it was not difficult to think and believe all that the poetic imagination could invent in regard to nature. But now all the phenomena of matter are understood to be under the surveillance of law, and its modifications are presumed to be controlled by one supreme and universal

---

are not important. But the tenor of the discussion, here set forth, would warrant the belief in the multiplicity of authors. It is the Homeric spirit that we have to deal with; not the man Homer.

* The less notable poems of the mediæval period were produced by Petrarch and Boccaccio; those in the transitional period, by Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso and Camoens, who interpreted fairly the amatory passion, the chivalry and the romance, of their age and country, and were successful in gaining the popular ear.

intelligence, and not by many inferior special intelligences. Forces never appeared as such in those ancient days; and whatever influence operated, and whatever result was effected, was due to something personal. Now, every thing is really understood to be the resultant of force *per se*, whether emanating from deity, or self-generative and self-operative. It is, then, difficult for the present age to give even temporary credence to the exertions of the poetic genius. Time was when all nature appeared to man a ceaseless flow of being multi-personal; and myriads of unseen forms not only walked the earth, but controlled its destinies; watched by the side of plant and flower in their development and efflorescence; watched by the side of river and fountain as they rolled and sprang into the sunlight or lay down at the feet of the moon, as if in consciousness of what they did, and as if in possession of a real living self hood. But now, force—blind, deaf, unconscious, insensitive, inflexible, stern, subtle, mighty force regulates and permeates nature. It does not dwell there in any individuality or personality, quickening consciously all the forms of external being, as the poetic nature loves to think and feel assured, and thus insinuating itself in different ways into the affections and sympathies of the soul, as if all these trees and buds, grasses and blossoms, were really so many friends of ours.

No; to the modern, and to the advanced thought, these vastly varied forms of animal, vegetable, and geological growth, are only modifications of two or three delicately powerful, mysteriously grand, beautifully sublime, nicely adjusted forces, that know not what they do themselves, and never know the souls of men. Yet how has the loving spirit of poetry continued to commune with these outward forms as friends in happy moods, and companions in the lone hours of mortal existence! Such is the change in the poetry of nature; but the poetry of humanity and of religion, the fancies that have clustered about man, and the fancies that have clothed God, have changed radically. Human nature was once a coalition of individual conscious power; and every passion, emotion, conception, and volition, was either a personality itself, or actuated by the presiding genius of that department of life. Courage and faith, anger

and despair, pity and remorse, love and hate, ambition, pride, and avarice, were conceived of as having distinct and personal existence, and moving the man to action, so difficult and unnatural was it for the race of men, in its youth, to conceive of the impersonal, the absolute, and the pervasive!

But now all these movements of the inner life are understood to be qualities of a single, indivisible, spiritual substance, which we call mind—modifications of a force possessing self-consciousness, self-control, and infinitely various attributes. It is therefore hard to place even temporary faith in the representations of the poetic fancy which personifies every attribute of the soul, and makes the man a composition of myriad personalities, or electrified by a myriad genii. The religious life of the individual was once a continuous communion with spirits; and deities dwelt everywhere, to guard the young race of men. But what would the theogony of Hesiod be thought of if written to-day and thrown upon the hearts of men? Its absurdity, its grotesqueness, its rudeness, its awfulness, its crudeness, and its impossible greatnesses, would be a matter of curiosity, but never a source of genuine admiration, and never a true poetic feeling would it excite in the breast of modern man. We have now advanced to the scientific period, and in accordance with the laws of poetic evolution, we should expect to find a characteristic indifference to poetry, in the present age, among all classes. *

---

* De Quincey has more than hinted at this change in the aspect of human thought: "In every nation first comes the higher form of passion, next the lower. This is the mere order of nature in governing the movements of the human intellect as connected with social evolution; this is therefore the universal order, that in the earliest stages of literature men deal with the great elementary grandeurs of passion, of conscience, of the will in self-conflict; they deal with the capital struggle of the human race in raising empires, or in overthrowing them; in vindicating their religion (as by crusades), or with the mysterious struggles among spiritual races allied to our own, that have been dimly revealed to us. We have an Iliad, a Jerusalem Delivered, a Paradise Lost. These great subjects exhausted, or exhausted in their most inviting manifestations, inevitably by the mere endless motion of society, there succeeds a lower key of passion. Expanding social intercourse in towns, multipled and crowded more and more, banishes those grander and gloomier phases of human history from literature. The under-

The greatest dearth of poetry and poetic exercises of the mind, however, is to be noticed among men of business, and men of strictly intellectual pursuits, whose whole lives, nearly, are absorbed in the practical and real: amassing a fortune, perfecting an invention, working out a scheme of philosophy or a social problem, attending to the practice of a profession, in all of which facts and their real consequences are alone of importance. Thus the hurry and the complexity of the duties of the age, the immense amount of ascertained knowledge which the individual must acquire, gives but little time for the imaginative and ideal exercises of the mind. This gives no time for the accumulation of that food upon which the emotions live, upon which fancy feeds, and upon which that simple and credulous inmost principle of poetic being relies for support. The tender and beautiful emotions which the presentation of poetic images awaken in the soul are allowed to dwindle and decay, or they are kept alive by the material presentations of some beautiful and artistic science. Repression of the ideal and development of the real, is the natural and legitimate watchword of the age; it is the battle-cry of progress in material and scientific matters.

Poetry is fast becoming a luxury not only expensive but demoralizing, and looked upon by the advanced thought of the age as a mere exercise of the mind, of no consequence to men who have plenty of thinking and acting to do. If, then, the things in which the poetic nature used to delight are past belief; if the intensity of light in which the muses loved to bathe has now softened into a milder radiance, or shines with diminished beams, and the old universal poet has been well-nigh annihilated by young ambitious science, where is the province of the poet to be found? It is sad to see the fair fields of poetry defaced by the reckless votaries of science.

---

standing is quickened; the lower faculties of the mind—fancy, and the habit of minute distinction, are applied to the contemplation of society and manners. Passion begins to wheel in lower flights, and to combine itself with interests that in part are addressed to the insulated understanding—observing, refining, reflecting."—*Essays on the Poets (on Pope)*.

Stay, ye destroyers of poetic flowers, and tread not down the gardens of the muses, pass not in majestic indifference and with ruthless tread over the fertile fields the soul in its sweet simplicity and faithful ardor has tilled to abundant yielding. But science will not be arrested; the human soul is now more eager to appropriate and control the universe, than it is to create ideal worlds and ideal forms, with which to fill immensity, and with which to supplement the finite and the known. Poetry is now without faith in its own creations, without confidence in the stability of its own productions, without reliance upon the reality of its own representations, without hope of gaining more than transitory credence from the busy world of men. No more can it forge the lightning at the anvil of Vulcan; no more can it poise the soul of a Hector and an Achilles in the scales of a Jupiter; or sunder the pillars of a Gibraltar by a Herculean effort. The sensitive realism of modern times will not bear it, the independence and self-assertion of modern intellect will not brook it. The attitude of the soul is changed; it no longer kneels trembling, yet confiding, before the creatures of its own creating; it stands erect and brave amid eternal verities.

There is also another law of poetic evolution, which is quite as potent in its operation and quite as evident in its result on the development of poetic literature, as the great law of periodic changes in universal thought and life. It is the law of parsimony of expression. All very beautiful and delicate things are equally rare in their occurrence; all very great and glorious things are equally rare in their production. Thus the effect of contrast is preserved. The beautiful and delicate, the great and the glorious, conversant about any subject, be it tradition or romance, chivalry or tragedy, once embodied in poetic language, will not bear frequent repetition. Human nature is just as good, true and amazing as ever it was; it has the same faults, weaknesses and eccentricities as ever; and innumerable are the changes which may be rung on the passions, purposes and powers of men!

Religion is a far nobler and grander thing than ever, and heaven is just as beautiful to the eye of faith as ever; but has not Milton forestalled the religious intuitions, gone abreast of

the most extravagant imagination, and supplied all that is essential in the direction of the supernatural? Nature is just as beautiful, various and delightful as ever; but since so many true poets have laid themselves to the task of writing the poetry of nature, what need have we of other kindred works? To have written these things first of all, to have expressed the great universal thought first of all, is sublime good-fortune.

This change in the aspect of poetry, added to the change in the universal habitudes of thought, the diffusion of knowledge, and the loss of permanent faith in the representations of the poetic genius, necessitates a change in the fundamental principiples of the poetic art.*

And if poetry is to flourish a little longer and still to maintain the highest place in literature, it must accomplish its work independent of the models—we might say independent of itself. The love of creating is still inherent in the soul; the love for the thing created still exists in humanity; and there is yet opportunity for giving ideal life to inanimate nature, for personifying the attributes of mind and deity, and for individualizing abstractions. It is possible, then, to reduce poetry to a system; and when it is thus removed from the natural and the spontaneous, it becomes the poetry of culture and reflection. There is some authority upon this point which may be consulted with advantage to the discussion. Edward Phillips, in his Theatrum Poetarum, writes thus: "True native poetry is a thing in which there is a certain air and spirit which perhaps the most learned and judicious in other arts do not perfectly apprehend, much less is it attainable by any art or study." And again: "Wit, ingenuity, and learning in verse, even elegancy itself, though that comes nearest, are one thing, true native poetry is another." But Schlegel, in his History of Literature, Lect. II., makes a more liberal statement: "Without actual invention, and without the marvellous, a work of intellect and language may be poetical by means of expression and inspiration alone, and deserve so to be called."

---

* What saved poetry from grave degradation in the last two centuries, was this departure from the established principles of poetic art.

While we do not agree with either of these authorities entirely, our conclusion will be found to coincide more nearly with the eminent German critic who has done so much for literature. We do not forget that we have said that self-projection and simplicity, personification and spontaneity, are the distinguishing characteristics of poetry. But spontaneity and simplicity are the accidents and not the essentials, while self-projection and personification are the absolute requisites; and the old natural and universal type of poetry to which we have directed ourselves in the discussion is not the only poetic growth possible. There is this other new and cultivated species which, although not the spontaneous development of the soul, still presents unmistakable signs of having sprung from truly poetic sources in the heart and life of our time, and is the resultant of a combination of the element of self-projection and personification with the element of intelligence and culture, producing a mental state and a corresponding literary embodiment which resembles poetry more than anything else, and must be called poetry. Pope, in the early part of the eighteenth century, was the first to bring this style to perfection, and the most perfect original poems of the nineteenth century bear this new impress.

But the necessity for such a kind of poetry, approximating to the elaborate scientific species of literature, and being of a scientifico-poetic nature, is only another proof of the main proposition that poetry, as a distinct and self-sustaining department of literature, is steadily declining. The new species is only an aftergrowth; and however beautiful and refined it may be, its life is necessarily short.

We have been trying to concentrate into a few thoughts a large portion of the inner life of humanity; we have been endeavoring to compress into a few sentences the characteristics and relations of a large department of literature, and, in so doing, we have found it impracticable to illustrate our design by specimens of poetry; we have endeavored to expose the fundamental principles on which the poetic art rests; and to notice their development when met by the periodic changes in the universal thought of the race, we have considered the subject

with an anxious mind, for in the conclusion lies the life of the beauty of literature, the paragon of letters. The extinction of any species of life is scientifically a calamity; equally calamitous is the extinction of any department of literature. But as in the former case, when the conditions upon which any order of life depends for its propagation are no longer present, that order must pass away and become known only to the historic observer; so in the latter case, when any species of soul-life has fulfilled the design of its existence, when the conditions and stimuli upon which it depends for nourishment and literary embodiment are no longer in the supporting environment, that species of psychical life, and that species of literature, must forever pass away.

Poetry, as we have seen, flourishes best in an atmosphere of limited knowledge and luxuriant emotional activity; in an age of faith and strength of feeling; in a period characterized by simplicity and natural vigor of thought. If those conditions cannot now be fulfilled in the universal consciousness of mankind, poetry, the product of such conditions, cannot have fulness and rotundity, cannot luxuriate and effloresce. If the sources from which poetry draws have now directed the waters of their life-giving power into other and artificial channels, the tender plant of poetic life must wither. If the rude, simple and primal energies of the human mind, having been developed into something of a different nature, and having been diverted into those philosophic and scientific ways by which the great soul of humanity is now traversed to the near exclusion of all other ways, no longer sustain a free, noble and beautiful life of simplicity, faith, fancy, self-projection and habitual personification, how shall poetry longer thrive? We recognize the infinitude of combination which the multitudinous objects of perception are capable of undergoing through the power of the imagination; but when the universal imagination is occupied in the solution of the problems of science, of material development, of constructive art, and of financial aggrandizement, the habitual uses of that imagination in such occupations produces a tendency and a state altogether inadequate to the highest poetic exercise of this faculty. And who is to arrest the

progress of exclusiveness in culture, and the tendency of all modern activities to arrange themselves into departments calling for special exercise of special functions, and at no time admitting of a general and universal development of individuals? One cannot so thoroughly separate himself from the age in which he lives as to be utterly unlike it. We concede the possibility of him becoming sufficiently impersonal and universal to appreciate well other ages besides his own; but for him to produce that which the universal consciousness of his time does not presume to demand for its habitual gratification, or to comprehend in its constantly recurring phenomena, is a moral improbability, and would be, if brought out, an anomaly in the evolution of thought and of literature.

With these observations on the law of poetic evolution, we may conclude that poetry, having reached its highest perfection in an anterior civilization, gradually declines, and will finally cease to be evolved, if not in the consciousness of humanity, at least in its literature. It may be said that no age has yet fully appreciated the greatness of its own literary productions; that Homer and Virgil, Dante and Milton, were never so highly valued as now; and that we cannot therefore infer that the poetry of the present day will not be highly regarded, not only historically but poetically, by succeeding generations. But what may be said of an age of limited knowledge and limited means of communication, with few or no books, and few copies of the original obtainable, cannot be affirmed of a period like the present. With the immense resources for information open to all classes, and the liberal critical spirit which animates all men of broad culture, it may be safely asserted that what the present age is not capable of appreciating it is not capable of producing. But even admitting the inadequacy of the valuation which an age puts upon its own poetic productions, an examination of the several degrees of appreciation reveals an increase of valuation in proportion to the remoteness of the time of origination. We regard Homer more highly than Virgil or Dante or Milton, and this not only historically, but intrinsically. The law is, the earlier the poem, the greater the admiration and appreciation which it receives; and the inevi-

table inference is, that the earlier poets will always be regarded most highly. Looking along the line of poetic productions, our vision is met by the spectacle of a simple and unscientific age possessing a great degree of æsthetic culture, and being a model in poetry and in representative art. And they having attained to this unequalled and unapproachable height of poetic glory, we shall have to be content with the distant view thereof, and open our souls to the light which streams down to us from the Olympus of poetry. If it is not for the modern intellect to give chaste and comely embodiment to the rhythmical movement of the billows of poetry, it will be, at least, of large advantage for us to study with care the masters of poetic literature; and then will those billows rise from the depths of our consciousness, and, like the tidal-wave, flow round the soul in constant revolution, strewing our lives with pearls of priceless worth and gems of exquisite beauty.

ART. II.—1. HOLINSHED'S *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* In six volumes. *A historicall description of the Iland of Britaine; with a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England and such commodities as are to be found in the same,* comprehended in three bookes and written by W. H. (WILLIAM HARRISON.) London. 1807.

2. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M. A. New York. 1871.

3. *England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, with the contemporary history of Europe, illustrated in a series of original letters never before printed,* with historical introductions and biographical and critical notes. By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ., author of "The History of Scotland," etc. In 2 vols. London. 1839.

THE House of Tudor ruled England from 1485 to 1603, a period of 118 years. The first king, from that family, Henry

VII., ascended the throne at a time when the nation was beginning to recover from the exhaustion caused by the long and bloody wars of the Roses. By nature cautious, cold-blooded, avaricious and crafty, he adopted a pacific policy which enabled him to amass an immense amount of wealth, and to develop the resources of the country. He encouraged commerce and the rising spirit of maritime discovery, although he was so unwise or so unlucky as to lose the opportunity of sending aid to Columbus in his project of finding a westerly passage to India, and thereby lost to England and to himself the glory and the opportunity of discovering and becoming master of Central America. Perhaps fate had a hand in it; but this is not the question at present, and it is useless to speculate upon what the English might have become if the wealth of the new world had been suddenly poured in upon them, as it was upon the Spaniards: the world knows that Spain was ultimately ruined by it, and has only recently begun to recover from her prostration.

Our present object is to trace the effect which the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had upon the English people, in conjunction with the other important movements in Europe, such as the revival of learning, the invention of printing, the religious disputes which convulsed that continent, and the formation of the great monarchies of France and Spain. The predominance of the power of the latter was a constant source of alarm to England, and greatly contributed to the establishment of English naval power. Hence it will be apparent that the reign of the Tudors was a most momentous and eventful period, and it has tested the abilities of historians and philosophers to the utmost.

The Tudor sovereigns had, all of them, strongly marked characters, with the exception, perhaps, of Edward VI., who was a sickly boy, and died too young to have developed any special traits. Strength and inflexibility of will were their principal characteristics, and the history of England presents few more arbitrary monarchs than Henry VIII., Mary I. and Elizabeth. Yet there were bounds beyond which even their despotic disposition did not venture to go, and these were found in the

character and temper of the English people, who were "a sturdy, high-hearted race, sound in body and fierce in spirit, and furnished with thews and sinews which, under the stimulus of 'those great shins of beef,' their common diet, were the wonder of the age."* They lived in a transition period. The long wars of the Roses, and the violent transfers of the crown from one head to another, which had occurred in the course of them, had weakened the feeling of loyalty which had been fostered for more than three centuries under the feudal system. The wholesale slaughter of the nobility in those sanguinary wars had also broken the chain which bound the lord to the king and the vassal to the lord. In a word, the feudal system had come to an end. With Richard III. expired the political system under which England had been so long governed; but the sentiment of loyalty to the sovereign, based upon the spirit of patriotism and not upon the obligations of feudal service, had not yet been created: that could not be until the dominant power of the aristocracy had been broken down, not so much by the force of arms or of law, as by the decay of the feudal principle, which was incompatible with the civilization that more readily assimilated with the rule of one than the rule of many. Henry VII., by his infamous system of forfeiture and confiscation, completed the humiliation of the aristocracy, the wars having broken their power, and thus when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, he was substantially "monarch of all he surveyed;" none of the nobles being in a position to assume such authority and independence as had been arrogated by the Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker," in Henry the Sixth's time. In former days a combination of three or four of the leading nobles was sufficient to effect a revolution when an incapable prince was on the throne, but we hear no more of those combinations after Henry the Seventh's reign. Parliament was as yet subservient to the reigning monarch, though sometimes disposed to assert its independence.†

Yet the spirit of the feudal system pervaded the laws relat-

---

* Froude, *History of England*, vol. i., p. 27.

† Hume, *History of England*, c. xxix. The Parliament boldly resisted Wolsey's imperious demands.

ing to the tenure of land down to a quite recent period, and it was very strong during the reign of the Tudors. Mr. Froude appears to think that this was a blessing to the nation, and he actually regrets the disappearance of it! "It is still a question," he says,* "whether the good or evil of the system predominated; and the answer to such a question is the more difficult, because we have no criterion by which, in these matters, degrees of good or evil admit of being measured. * * * Under the feudal system, men were held together by oaths, free acknowledgments, and reciprocal obligations, entered into by all ranks, high and low, binding servants to their masters, as well as nobles to their kings; and in the frequent forms of the language in which the oaths were sworn we cannot choose but see that we have lost something in exchanging those ties for the harsher connecting links of mutual self interest." If we have "lost something," we have certainly gained infinitely more by the subversion of the system of master and servant, king and noble, serfdom, villanage, compulsory military service at the will of the owner of the land, and restriction of personal liberty. It may have suited the rough, ignorant English of the Tudor epoch, but the fact that it was unable to resist the advance of education and civilization ought to have been sufficient to convince Mr. Froude that his regrets were ill-bestowed.

Henry VIII., on his accession, enjoyed universal popularity on account of his youth, manly beauty, and fondness for the sports in which the English delighted,† and, strange to say, he retained much of this popularity long after his tyranny had caused him to be a terror to all who came in connection with him. Strype, the historian, tells us that the people never hated him, notwithstanding his cruelty and extortion, and that to the last he possessed in some degree their affection.‡ He carried the doctrines of the prerogatives of the crown to as arbitrary a pitch as the worst of the Plantagenets had done, and, having a servile parliament to sustain him, he subdued the people; but

---

* *History of England*, vol. i., p. 26. † Hume, *History of England*, c. xxvii. Sir T. More, *Lucubrationes*, p. 182.

‡ *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i., p. 389.

they were as yet only vaguely beginning to comprehend what was meant by the rights of freemen, and his victory was proportionately easy. In his daughter Elizabeth's reign they had made greater progress, and consequently she had more difficulty in maintaining her prerogatives: in truth, she was sometimes glad of a pretext for not enforcing them. This fact seems to be ignored by Hume, who with all his elegance, is occasionally superficial; he says:* "The prerogatives of this princess were scarcely ever disputed, and she therefore employed them without scruple;" and again: "The great popularity which she enjoyed proves that she did not infringe any established liberties of the people." Yet the same historian records numerous instances of her imperious conduct towards the House of Commons, and of cruelty, unsanctioned by law, to individuals.†

We do not propose to discuss her conduct toward the unfortunate Queen of Scots. Whatever may have been her motives,—and she had several,—the unfeeling behavior of her servitors, who doubtless took their cue from her in the matter, was fully approved by the people at large. Speaking of the condemnation of Mary to death, Miss Aiken says:‡ "After her sentence had been ratified by both houses of parliament, it was thought expedient, probably by way of feeling the pulse of the people, that solemn proclamation of it should be made in London by the lord-mayor and city officers, and by the magistrates of the county in Westminster. The multitude, untouched by the long misfortunes of an unhappy princess born of the blood-royal of England and heiress to its throne,—insensible, too, of every thing arbitrary, unprecedented, or unjust, in the treatment to which she had been subjected, received the notification of her doom with expressions of triumph and exulation truly shocking. Bonfires were lighted, church bells were rung, and every street and lane throughout the city resounded with psalms of thanksgiving."

---

* *History of England*, Appendix III.

† See particularly Note x. at the close of the History. Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England: Elizabeth*, vol. iv., p. 602.

‡ *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii., p. 176.

We cite this passage as illustrative of the ferocity of the English of that day; and, considering their temper, it may well be conceded that much of what appears to us of the present enlightened age to be harsh and cruel in Elizabeth's conduct was necessitated by circumstances. Allowance must also be made for partiality in her historians who seek to palliate her cruelty on the plea of political expediency: yet when every allowance has been made, it will be apparent, even from their narratives, that a large amount of condemnation must remain upon the head of this last sovereign of the Tudor race. And must not the same fall upon all of those Tudor princes? What pleas can avail to rescue Henry VII. from the infamy attaching to the monstrous exactions and confiscations practised by his tools, Empson and Dudley? What can palliate the barbarous conduct of Henry VIII. to his wives? or his rapacity in the suppression of the monasteries, and his cruelty in the treatment of both Catholics and Protestants? What can justify the unpatriotic desire of Mary to make England subserve the designs of her husband, Philip of Spain? and her fierce persecution of the Protestants? And what shall be said of Elizabeth's disgraceful amours with Seymour, Leicester, Essex, and others,* her habitual profanity, her duplicity towards the Duke of Anjou, and towards the Protestants of the Low Countries, her meanness towards the illustrious men who were the ornaments of her reign? That England should have progressed under the sway of the Tudors was owing to the native vigor of its inhabitants rather than to the acts of those who governed. The condition of the people was, on the whole, inferior to what it should have been, though in some respects better than it was under the Plantagenets.†

The habitations of the people were deplorably deficient in comfort and conveniences of every kind. The mansions of the nobility were handsome and spacious enough; but the internal arrangements were very defective. The chief feature in the in-

* Lingard, *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 659.

† Hume, *History of England*, c. xxvi: Review of the Laws passed by Henry VII.

terior was the great hall, which was a large and lofty chamber, whose roof was carved and emblazoned with the family coat of arms. At the upper end of the hall the floor was raised and called the daïs, and it was the place of honor: there the head table was laid for the lord and his family and the principal guests; other tables were ranged along the sides for inferior visitors and retainers. In the centre was the reredos or fire-iron, against which faggots were piled and burnt upon the stone floor, the smoke passing through an opening in the roof immediately overhead, which was generally formed into an elevated lantern, and became a conspicuous ornament of the exterior. The windows usually ranged along one or both sides of the hall, at some height above the ground, so as to leave room for wainscoting or tapestry below them; and they were frequently enriched with stained glass. The principal entrance to the main building opened into a lobby, having on one side several doors or arches leading to the kitchen and domestic offices; and on the other side the hall, parted off by a screen, generally of carved wood, and by arches having folding doors. Above the screen and over the lobby was the gallery for minstrels or musicians; and on its front were hung armour, antlers and other trophies of the chase. One of the finest specimens of these mansions now existing is at Longleat, in Wiltshire, the seat of the Marquis of Bath. It consists of three stories, and its front is 220 feet long, the stories being of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian architecture, adorned with rich pilasters. On all sides of the building is a handsome balustrade, with statues, and from the roof rise several cupolas. The apartments are numerous, large, and sumptuous. The great hall is two stories in height, and the library is 220 feet in length. It was built in the reign of Henry VIII.* The palace at Hampton Court, built by Cardinal Wolsey, is another fine specimen. The great dining halls at Christ Church College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, are also good specimens.

* *Beauties of England and Wales: Wiltshire*, vol. xv., p. 293. The foregoing description of a nobleman's residence does not universally apply; but it is an average picture deduced from the accounts given by Britton of many of the old baronial mansions in England in the Tudor Era.

In the days of the Plantagenets, and up to the time of Elizabeth, the nobility used to dine in the great hall at their mansion or castle in company with their household and retainers; but in her reign they began to drop this custom, and dine in a separate apartment, called the dining or banqueting room.* The chapel was another feature of a nobleman's mansion, as were the great chamber called the withdrawing-room, reserved for state occasions, and the gallery for the reception of visitors, for amusement, and indoor exercise. The kitchen was, as it were, a separate part of the mansion: it was of stone, having several chimneys, widely arched fire-places, and an immense oven: adjoining it was the wine cellar. In the older houses staircases were carried up in separate turrets; they were generally spiral, the steps being of stone and running round a pillar in the centre, the outer hand rail grooved into the wall. In the reign of Elizabeth they first were made of wood splendidly carved, and had landings, ornamented with figures. The materials used in building were first stone and wood; then thin bricks glazed, and of various colors, and called wall-tiles. In Henry the Eighth's time, brick-making was a well-advanced art; and sometimes these bricks were ornamented. Glazed windows were rare in his time; they were then movable furniture and cost a high price.†

The dwellings of the gentry were mean, and usually consisted of an entrance passage running through the house, with a hall on one side, a parlor beyond, and one or two chambers above; on the opposite side, a kitchen, pantry, and other offices. But down to the reign of Elizabeth, the greater part of the houses in considerable towns had no chimneys; the fire was kindled against the wall, or in the centre of the room, and the smoke found its way out as well as it could, by the roof, the door, or the windows.‡ Chafing dishes were in general use,

* Hume, *History of England*, Appendix III. Hallam, *History of the Middle Ages*, chap. ix., part 2.

† Hallam thinks it difficult to name a house in England still inhabited by a gentleman and not of the castle description, the principal apartments of which are older than the reign of Henry VII. *History of Middle Ages*, vol. ii., p. 413. Harrison, *Description of England*, book 2, c. xii.

‡ Ibid. c. x. xiv. xviii.

and the hole wherein the fire was made was covered with iron before the family retired to rest. As most of the houses in the towns were built of wood, fires of the most destructive kinds were very common; and from the smoky state of the interior, there cannot have been much personal cleanliness; hence the frequent plagues and epidemics of which we read. Many houses had very small windows, the panes of which were of horn instead of glass. Casements hung on hinges were common; so were lattices of wicker, or strips of wood laid checker-wise. Sash windows were not introduced until the reign of Charles I.

The abodes of the poor were hovels or huts made of reeds or sticks, plastered over with mud; they were without fire-place, chimney and window; their inmates slept on a bag of straw, with a round log for a pillow. Those in the towns were not much better off. The land swarmed with mendicants and robbers, and it is said that Henry VIII. caused upwards of seventy thousand of these wretches to be hung.* There seems, however, to have been no lack of food, for foreign visitors expressed their astonishment at the quantity of beef consumed by the lower classes, † and the open hospitality of the monasteries and the houses of the nobility and gentry prevented anything like starvation or severe want among a sparse population, such as that of England was in the days of the Tudors. Some writers have evidently overdrawn the picture of the degraded condition of the people of that epoch. Thus Dr. Draper says "their common food was peas, vetches, fernroots, and even the bark of trees. There was no commerce to put off famine. Man was altogether at the mercy of the seasons. The population was perpetually thinned by pestilence and want * * * For the poor there was no physician; for the dying, the monk and his crucifix. The aim was to smooth the sufferer's passage to the next world, not to save him for this."‡ Now, there is the authority of Harrison § who lived in Queen Elizabeth's time, to show that the poor al-

---

* Ibid. c. xi. † Ibid. c. xv. Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. vi. p. 17. ‡ *Intellectual Development of Europe*. p. 495. § *Descripton of England*, Book 2, c. VI.

ways had access to the good food of the abbeys, religious houses and abodes of the wealthy, and that where there were no regular physicians, the clergy, who generally understood much of the healing art, and the ladies of the neighborhood, likewise trained in it, relieved the necessities of the sick. When no medical skill could save the patient he natually desired "the monk and his crucifix to smooth his passage to the other world," and there is no reason to believe that, as a rule, this pious duty of officiating at the dying sufferer's side was neglected or grudgingly performed.

The suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII. undoubtedly caused a vast amount of suffering among the poor, who had from time immemorial relied on them as their refuge from misery and want, their protectors from oppression, their friends in difficulity. But this was in some degree compensated by the rapid extension of trade and manufactures, and by the springing up of a middle class of wealthy merchants and burgesses, who built country houses for themselves and found employment for the poor. The endowment of a large number of charitable institutions and schools also tended to diffuse enlightenment and to ameliorate the condition of the people. And lastly, for further relief to the poor, the statute of Elizabeth which laid the foundation of the modern poor laws was passed. Moreover, the poor were not increasing in numbers as they are at the present day, the kingdom was depopulating owing to the increase of inclosures and the decay of tillage.* But the real cause of suffering was one which was not apparent to the nation at large and but little understood by the educated classes, viz., the pouring of the precious metals from America into Europe, which caused a rise in the price of provisions everywhere; wheat rose to three times its former price, and, as this happened simultaneously with the suppression of the monasteries, the poor considered that the rise had been occasioned by this last named measure. An anonymous writer, quoted by Hume, † says that during the thirty years preceding 1581, commodities had in general risen fifty per cent, some more; formerly the best pig

* Hume, *History of England*, Appendix III. † Ibid. n. 91.

or goose could be bought for four pence, but could then not be had under twelve pence. The average wages of ordinary laborers were four pence a day; but this rate was not uniform, and the value of money was different in different parts of Europe. Moreover, the laborer frequently received meat and drink in part payment, and assuming that the penny of that day was worth twelve modern pennies or one shilling, as Mr. Froude does, * it would appear that the laborer of the fourteenth century was about as well or as badly off as one of the nineteenth. He had, however, one advantage, which the latter has not. The agricultural laborer held land (a small piece) in connection with his house, while in most parishes there were large ranges of common and unenclosed forest land which furnished him with fuel and with pasture for his cow, pig, ducks and goose. By the Act of 31 Elizabeth, chapter 7, it was ordained that no cottage should be built for residence without four acres of land at least being attached to it for the sole use of its occupants.

Yet the fluctuation in prices was so incessant that parliament was constantly called upon to legislate for the maintenance of wages. By the Act of 6 Henry VIII., chapter 3, the wages of carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plumbers and glaziers were fixed at six pence a day, and by the 5 Elizabeth chapter 4, those of the day laborer in London were fixed at nine pence a day. There was the same struggle between employers and employed as there is in modern times, but of course not involving such numbers of persons nor such an amount of capital. The agricultural laborer, as he now is, only began to appear at the close of the century. Harrison mentions the fact, and attributes it to the general raising of rents, and the wholesale evictions of the smaller tenantry which followed the Reformation;† but he might have added that merchants and others, growing rich by trade, sought to become landholders, and invested large sums in the purchase of land whereby the price of that commodity rose with the demand, and thus the old tenants were ousted. The government made many attempts to check

* *History*, vol. I., ch. i, p. 34. † *Description of England*, p 318.

this grasping, money-making spirit, and they were to a great extent successful. It was suggested that a law should be made compelling merchants to employ their money in merchandise, and not in the purchase of lands; and that craftsmen should confine themselves to cities and towns and not take farms in the country; also that no merchant should purchase land of greater value than forty pounds in any one year.* The 25 Henry VIII., chapter 13, was passed to prevent the accumulation of lands into a few hands and the conversion of arable land into pasture; and the preamble of that act presents a picture of agricultural distress which would do honor to the present day.

Political economists will be at no loss to account for this state of things, but they will probably not sustain Mr. Froude in his gratulations over the successful contest of the government against the money-holders. "By these measures," he says, "the money-making spirit was for a time driven back, and the country *resumed its natural course*. I am not concerned to defend the economic wisdom of such proceedings, but they prove, I think, conclusively that the laboring classes owed their advantages, not to the condition of the labor market, but to the care of the state; and that when the state relaxed its supervision, or failed to enforce its regulations, the laborers being left to the market chances, sank instantly in the unequal struggle with capital."† Mr Froude in his eagerness to exculpate Henry VIII. and represent England as a "merry" nation in his days, overlooks the contradiction involved in his own remarks. He represents the nation as resuming its *natural course* only after the government has triumphed over the capitalists; yet, when left to itself (*i. e.*, to follow its natural course) it "instantly sinks!" He says again: "If the peasantry had been suffering under any real grievances (! !) we should not have failed to have heard of them when the religious rebellions furnished so fair an opportunity to press these grievances forward. Complaint was loud enough when complaint was just, under the Somerset protectorate."‡

* Cotton MS. Titus, b. 1, 160. † *History*, vol. i, p. 42. ‡ Ibid. p. 53.

"*If* the peasantry had been suffering under any *real* grievances" where, then, was the necessity for the apologetic preambles to the various acts of parliament passed under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth for the relief of the poor, and which represent in the strongest language the distress under which they labored, and the need of legislation to relieve it? Witness that of the 25 Henry VIII., chapter 13, which states that owing to the rise in rent and prices and to other causes "a marvellous multitude of the poor people of this realm be not able to provide meat, drink and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty that they daily fall to theft, robbery, and other inconveniences, or pitifully die from hunger and cold." This was in the year 1534, and the condition of the poor kept on growing continually worse, until it was found necessary, or desirable, to pass acts of parliament compelling the owners of property to provide money for their maintainence, the act of the 42 Elizabeth being the celebrated poor law, which ultimately brought the poor of England to the verge of vagabondage and ruffianism. And yet this evil began when beef and pork were sold at a halfpenny a pound, and mutton three farthings a pound, when a pig or a goose cost four shillings, a good capon three or four pence, a chicken a penny, a hen twopence.* Fresh herrings sold five or six a penny, a gallon of the best ale cost two farthings, a gallon of the best red wine four pence, and the best white wine eight pence.† If, with provisions at these prices, the poor could not live, their condition must have been deplorable. Their clothing consisted of coarse canvas or of leather; the modern luxury of linen and flannel being unknown to them. Their shoes, when they had any, were either wooden *sabots*, similar to those worn by the peasantry of France, or else untanned skins tied round the feet.

The terrible contrast between luxury and indigence at present existing in such force in England, began to manifest itself there under the Tudors. During the 15th century there was

---

* *Stafford's Discourse on the state of the Realm.*

† *Guildhall MS. Journals*, 12, 13, 14, 15.

considerable difference between the condition of the nobles and that of the peasantry, but there was less wealth and refinement among the former and less suffering among the latter. The great landowners lived mainly among their tenantry, looked after them and exercised a kind of parental supervision over them. It was on state occasions only that they went to London to form part of the royal court. Thus, between the nobility and the church, the poor were tolerably well cared for. But with the accession of the Tudors a change came over the spirit of the nation's dream. It was one great feature of the policy of the Tudor sovereigns, as we have already observed, to crush the power of the nobility, and one of the means which they adopted towards that end, was to summon them to the court at Westminister and keep them in constant attendance there. In this way the nobles were retained under the surveillance of the monarch and his ministers, while their continued absence from their estates weakened the attachment subsisting between them and their tenantry. Moreover, the management of these estates had to be confined to agents, attorneys, bailiffs, and proctors, who made their own profits out of the property, thereby increasing the general discontent and suffering, and impoverishing the proprietors. Queen Elizabeth carried this artful policy still farther by instituting a system of paying visits to her nobility on their estates; and, as she insisted on being splendidly entertained, severely punishing any who failed to render her what she considered due honor, she forced them to exhaust their revenues in these grand receptions, and thus broke their power still more.* Costly pageants, ingenious but expensive devices, open house for all the queen's retainers for days together, hunting parties, falconry, masques and plays, mummeries and shows, soon drained the unfortunate nobleman's pocket, and at the close of them it not unfrequently happened that he received cold thanks from her highness for his lavish expenditure: as

* Harrison, *Description of England*, Book 2, c. 15. Each visit of the Queen to Lord Burleigh cost him £2,000, or about £20,000 of modern money: Collins, *Life of Burleigh*, p. 40. She paid him twelve visits, (*Ibid*). Her visit to Kenilworth cost the Earl of Leicester a fabulous sum. Hume, *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 129.

was the case with Archbishop Parker, who had entertained her at Canterbury on her visit to that city, in 1572,* whose wife had exerted herself to the utmost to please her. On taking her leave of her host and hostess, the queen, who was very averse to the marriage of the clergy, turned to Mrs. Parker and said: "I may not call you Madam, but such as you are, I thank you."

The ceremonial of her court rivalled the servility of the East. No person of whatever rank ventured to address her otherwise than kneeling; and this attitude was preserved by all her ministers, during their audiences of business, with the exception of Burleigh, in whose favor, when aged and infirm, she dispensed with its observance.† Hentzner, a German traveler, who visited England near the conclusion of her reign, relates, that as she passed through several apartments from the chapel to dinner, wherever she turned her eyes he observed the spectators throw themselves on their knees.‡ The same traveller further relates that the officers and ladies whose business it was to arrange the dishes and give tastes of them to the yeoman of the guard by whom they were brought in, did not presume to approach the royal table without repeated prostrations and genuflections and every mark of reverence due to her majesty in person.§ The same sort of servility, though not to so great a degree, was exacted by the nobility of their attendants in imitation of the court, and the ancient custom of master and servants dining at the same table was discarded. The distance between peer and peasant was stretched to the utmost: the widening of the breach began under Henry VII., was carried out under Henry VIII., and was perfected under Elizabeth. The Tudor policy of subordinating both alike to the crown, transformed the old feudal nobility into an aristocracy deprived of much of its wealth and power. Had it not been for the commercial spirit of the people, this division of the social fabric into nobles and commoners might have proved as

---

* Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, vol. 4, *Elizabeth*, pp. 392-395.

† Miss Aiken, *Memoirs of Court, etc.*, p. 499.

‡ *Travels in England*, p. 36. § Ibid. p. 36.

fatal to the liberties of the people as it did in France. But a wealthy and energetic middle class arose in spite of the crown, which began to make head against its monstrous prerogatives, and at a late period gave birth to such men as Cromwell, Hampden, Wentworth, Pym, and Milton. Moreover the threatened invasion of England by Spain, in 1588, had the effect of knitting all classes together for the common defence, and of manifesting the importance of each to the other. The state of England at this period has been vividly described by the historians, Camden, Stowe, Strype, and others. The armada did not strike terror into the English: on the contrary, the whole nation braced itself up to the struggle unflinchingly, and the people were, as the queen herself said "so combined in heart that she wanted art to express the sympathy of love between the subjects and the sovereign."* The whole commonality of England became of one heart and mind in this momentous hour.

Another feature in the Tudor policy was the maintenance of a splendid court, and this was an additional reason why the nobility with their servants and retainers were forced to pass much of their time in London. They were thus compelled to have town residences, and hence the metropolis became embellished by the erection of splendid mansions like Somerset House and Northumberland House. The great thoroughfare called the Strand was the principal site of these edifices, many of which have since disappeared, but the remembrance of them is preserved in the names of the streets which now occupy their places. Among them were those of Northumberland, Arundel, Surrey, Essex, Craven, Bedford, Norfolk, and Exeter. Court life became the fashion, and extravagance in dress and living became the rule. To supply this prodigality in town the country was drained and to a great extent impoverished; but, as no evil is unattended with some good, the needy nobility sold large portions of their estates, especially the well-wooded and the imperfectly cultivated portions, to aspiring and wealthy merchants and others, who, in order to make the most of their purchases, cleared and drained those tracts, and thus brought a greater breadth of land under

* See the Queen's letter of 18 June. Ellis, second series, vol. iii. p. 187.

cultivation. Hence arose that highly respectable class called "the landed gentry," who, in the next century, proved the bulwark of the liberties of England against the encroachments of the crown.*

Henry VIII, set the fashion of courtly extravagance, and Cardinal Wolsey carried it to an excess, which has not since been outdone, even by James I. All readers of English history are familiar with the extravagance of this worldly-minded prelate; therefore we need not dwell upon it further than to allude to the fact that the taste and magnificence of the great cardinal were imitated more or less by the nobility throughout the succeeding reigns, until religious and political contentions turned men's thoughts to higher subjects than luxury and display. Extravagance was the order of the day; in eating, drinking, dress, and amusements, money was freely squandered by the wealthy, and the distance between them and the poor daily widened. The noble simplicity of the habits which prevailed under the Plantagenets fast disappeared, and as luxury increased the hours grew later. It is curious that this fondness for late hours should have progressed with the growth of civilization. Henry I. endeavoured to alter the custom of taking four meals a day to two, and even one; the principal of these was at *three o'clock in the morning*! and the supper at five in the afternoon.† In Edward the Third's time the dinner hour was nine in the morning. A century later (in Edward the Fourth's reign) the general hour of breakfast with the nobility, whose meals were considerably earlier than those of tradesmen, yeomen, and others, was seven: dinner was served at ten in the morning, and generally lasted *three hours*! supper followed at four, and the liveries or collations at nine in the evening. The breakfast consisted of herings, salt fish, wine and beer; the collation consisted of a gallon of beer, with a quart of warm wine mixed with spice.‡ Persons who lived in this style can scarcely ever have been sober, but it was the custom to take a great deal of violent exercise in the open air, either in hunting,

* Hume, *History of England*, Appendix 3. † *Domestic Life in England*, anon., p. 30. ‡ *Domestic Life in England*, pp. 35, 36.

hawking, riding, and pedestrian, or athletic exercises, including archery, and this acted as a safety-valve for the enormous quantity of stimulants which our robust ancestors habitually imbibed. The severity with which the church insisted on the observance of Lent and other fasts was also a corrective of the swilling and gluttony which universally prevailed.

During the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, the hours for meals had advanced in lateness. The nobility, gentry, and students dined at eleven in the forenoon, and supped between five and six in the afternoon.* The merchants, especially in London, seldom dined before twelve at noon, and supped at six at night: the husbandmen dined at "high noon," as they called it, and supped at seven or eight. The old distich,

> "To rise at five, to dine at nine,
> To sup at five, to bed at nine,
> Makes a man live to ninety-nine,"

had gone out of date. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the dining hour was changed from eleven to twelve, and this remained the hour till the time of William III.; so that it was not uncommon to transact public business after dinner, though how it was got through after so much drinking, it is not easy to imagine. No wonder every body was irritable and quarrelsome, and that Queen Elizabeth sometimes boxed the ears of her attendants, swearing a good round oath at them at the same time.†

Along with extravagance at table came the introduction of table-cloths; and among the nobility these were often of great value. Knives were sharp-pointed, with white bone handles; but forks were not introduced until the time of James I.; skewers of silver or gold were used instead of forks in carving. The dining rooms of the nobles were strewed with rushes, and it was customary to dine with hats on.‡ The practice of tasting the food before serving it, so as to detect poison, was

---

* Harrison, *Description of England*, Book 2. c. 18. † Lingard, *History of England*, vol. 6, p. 659. ‡ *Domestic Life in England*, anon. pp. 46, 47.

rigidly enforced by Queen Elizabeth. The table was first rubbed with bread and salt, then the yeomen of the guard advanced, each bearing a dish; the dishes were received by a gentleman, and placed upon the table, where the two lady-tasters stood (one married, one unmarried,) and gave to each guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought; if the guard showed no symptoms of being poisoned, the dishes were then offered to her majesty.* She is to be excused for taking this precaution, since many attempts were made upon her life, and it was an age in which poisoning was frequently resorted to by political foes, as the histories of France, Italy, and Spain testify.

It was under the Tudors that the greater portion of the public schools of England was founded; and this is the most honorable feature in the arbitrary career of those sovereigns. They gave great encouragement to learning, and were themselves accomplished scholars. Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., was well instructed in grammar, poetry, oratory and history; and Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.) was an excellent musician and composer, and possessed a good knowledge of Latin, French and Spanish; he was also initiated into the learning of the ancients.† Edward VI. was a proficient in every branch of knowledge, considering his age; but he died in his sixteenth year. He was a pupil of the celebrated Roger Ascham, who was his Latin secretary, and held the same office to Mary and Elizabeth. Ascham was the tutor of those princesses and of Lady Jane Grey. The latter was well versed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Mary showed great vigor and ability in her studies, and Elizabeth, in her sixteenth year, was familiar with Greek and Latin.‡ She translated Boëthius' "Consolations of Philosophy" from the Greek, wrote poetry, and was an excellent musician.§ The study of the classics became the fashion among the nobility and wealthy classes, both

---

* Hentzner, *ubi supra.* † All the historians of England concur in bearing testimony to the learning of the Tudors.

‡ Giovanni Michele. Ellis, Second series, vol. 2.

§ Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. 4, c. xi.

male and female.* Poetry and the drama were exceedingly popular; so were novels and romances, mostly translated from the French and Italian. Young ladies also learned riding, hunting, and hawking, and working in tapestry. There was, however, little education for the girls of the poor, and none at all for poor boys until the establishment of grammar schools in the principal towns, which was greatly encouraged by the Tudors.

That we have not given undue credit to them in this respect, may be seen from the following list of schools and colleges established either by them or with their approbation: Jesus College, Cambridge (1496), Christ College, Cambridge (1507), St. John's College, Cambridge (1509), St. Paul's School, London (1509), Brazen-nose College, Oxford (1513), Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1516), the Royal College of Physicians, (1518), Magdalen College, Cambridge (1519), Christchurch, Oxford (1525), Ipswich Grammar School (1525), Trinity College, Cambridge (1540), St. Alban's Hall, Oxford (1547), Shrewsbury School (1551), Christ's Hospital, London (1553), Trinity College, Oxford (1554), St. John's College, Oxford (1557), Caius College, Oxford (1557), Westminster School (1560), Merchant Tailors' School, London (1561), Rugby School (1567), Harrow School (1571), Jesus College, Oxford (1571), Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge (1593), and St. Mary Magdalen Hall, Oxford (1602). And by way of aiding in the development of the highest order of tuition, several of the most eminent foreign professors (such as Erasmus, Bucer and Fagius) were invited over and appointed to professorships.

The sister institutions of Trinity College, Dublin, and the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh also date from the Tudors. The great hospitals of St. Bartholomew and Guy, in London, were founded at the same epoch. And to the list may be added the palaces of St. James and Hampton Court, and Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster. In these national works they encouraged architecture and the em-

* Harrison, *Description of England*, Book 2, c. 15.

bellishment of public and private edifices, as to both exterior and interior, which came into vogue in the sixteenth century, and acted as a spur to trade and manufactures. Edward VI. endowed grammar schools for the children of the people of Bedford and other cities. Others emulated his example, and many tradesmen who had accumulated fortunes in London retired in their later years to the country town which had given them birth, and provided for the education of their neighbors by furnishing it with a grammar school. At one of these schools Shakespeare received his education.

Thus under the Tudors grew up a love of learning and literature which produced glorious fruit in the illustrious men who adorned the annals of that age. But the spirit of maritime enterprise, combined with the important results flowing therefrom, in the shape of increased knowledge, wealth and power, to the nation, was fast changing the character and habits of the English. They were becoming undomesticated, fond of display, change and adventure, eager for wealth and little scrupulous about the means of acquiring it. Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, and their comrades, were little better than pirates. They plundered the ships of other nations, and sacked their towns without remorse in Asia, Africa and America, although those countries were at peace with each other in Europe. The exploits of these buccaneers led to the foundation of the colonial empire of England, but its actual formation did not take place until the time of the Stuarts. Raleigh's efforts to plant colonies in Virginia proved failures.

Some of the brightest names in English history and literature belong to the sixteenth century. Sir Thomas More was one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, as well as one of the most virtuous of men. All readers of history are familiar with his fate and the exemplary piety and courage with which he encountered it.* Dean Colet, the founder of Saint Paul's School; Lilly, the grammarian, its first master; Roger Ascham, Leland the antiquary, and Dr. Linacre, founder of the Royal College of Physicians, were the ornaments of the first half of the century as regards learning: but Wolsey, Pole,

* Hume, *History of England*, c. xxxi.

Gardiner, Cranmer, and other ecclesiastics were distinguished both for learning and statesmanship. The reign of Elizabeth, however, far eclipsed the others with its great men. Perhaps no other nation and period (except that of Pericles in Greece) have seen such a wonderful development of robust and original genius as England did during the Elizabethan era. For statesmen there were Burleigh, Walsingham, Melville, Hatton and Sir Robert Cecil; for leaders of great expeditions, there were Raleigh, Drake, Lord Howard of Effingham, Frobisher, Hawkins, Norris and Mountjoy; for poets and dramatists, Shakespeare, Spenser, Greene, Drayton, Marlowe, Sir Philip Sidney, Sackville, Peel, Kyd, and Heywood. Bacon and Hooker took the lead in philosophy and in general literature, followed by Raleigh, Camden, Stowe, Strype, Fox, Spelman, Holinshed, Harrison, and a number of others of less note.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century the drama became inaugurated and a power in England. Miracle-plays, moralities, and interludes of a coarse character had long been in vogue, but it was reserved for the reign of Elizabeth to witness the foundation and carrying to perfection of tragedy and comedy of the highest order. In the time of Henry VIII. John Heywood produced a number of interludes ridiculing the manners of the age; but the first specimen of comedy was written about 1550, by Nicholas Udall, master of Westminster School; it was called "Ralph Royster Doyster." In 1565 John Still, bishop of Bath and Wells, produced another called "Gammer Gurton's Needle;" it was broad in its humor and the incidents in it were trivial. The distance between it and the best of Shakespeare's comedies was immense, yet this distance was traversed in thirty years! The first tragedy was that of "Ferrex and Perrex," composed by Thomas Sackville; and performed before Queen Elizabeth in 1561. It was followed in 1566 by "Damon and Pythias," written by Richard Edwards. Between 1568 and 1580, fifty-two dramas were acted at court. The first licensed theatre was opened at Blackfriars, London, in 1576, and ten years afterwards there were two hundred professional actors in the metropolis. At the commencement of Shakespeare's career there were five theatres in London; but

they were of the rudest possible construction; they were built of wood, in a circular form, and were uncovered, except the stage, over which was constructed a thatched roof. The nobility and gentry sat in boxes below the gallery, or else were furnished with stools on the stage; the floor was strewed with rushes, and the young gallants used to stretch themselves thereon and smoke their pipes. The middle classes were crowded into the pit or yard, where they had to stand, as there were no seats. The scenery consisted of a few painted canvasses or curtains suspended before the stage for the convenience of the actors, and of rude imitations of towers, woods, animals, or furniture, to illustrate the scene. The change from place to place was denoted by painting the name of the locality on a placard which was hung up in view of the audience. There were no actresses; the female characters were personated by men or boys dressed as women. Such were the materials which Shakespeare possessed for giving effect to his immortal creations!*

The greatness of England during the reign of Elizabeth may be ascribed to the success of that commercial enterprise which had sprung up under Henry VII., and been fostered by his successors, and to Elizabeth's artful foreign policy of fomenting dissensions among the neighboring states while keeping England as much as possible out of them, thereby weakening the former while strengthening the latter, and rendering it greater by comparison. But her habitual irresolution, her haughty, overbearing temper, her irritability, and her weakness towards favorites, which sometimes rendered her chastity a matter of doubt, kept the country in constant turmoil. Her court was corrupt and dissolute; her vanity excessive; and on the least offence she would indulge in oaths and abuse, as well as in blows. "The administration of justice in her time was disgraced by bribery, and the queen herself, as well as her favorites and ladies, were in the habit of receiving bribes for interfering in the suits of private individuals. Elizabeth was partial to courts-martial and other arbitrary and tyrannical

* See article on *The Origin and Development of the Modern Drama* in the *National Quarterly Review*, No. XLI., June, 1870, and Froude, *History of England*, vol. I, pp. 71-78.

tribunals, and her assumption of the power to imprison at her pleasure those who had given her offence must be regarded as an intolerable grievance. She spared not the blood of her subjects: in addition to the sanguinary execution of numerous Catholics, many new felonies were created and their punishments were barbarously inflicted. Her pecuniary exactions were greater than those of her predecessors, and still she left more debts unpaid than any of them. Historians have described with a glowing pen the golden days of Elizabeth: to them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery drawn by the catholic writers of the same period.*

The reign of Elizabeth, though a glorious era for literature, was not so for the fine arts. The incongruous mixture of the conflicting principles of Grecian and Gothic architecture produced the grotesque style which bears her name. It is a style which depends much for its effect upon grace of composition and brilliancy of execution, and should be free from coarsely executed and unmeaning extravagances; but the latter were too frequently indulged in, notwithstanding some brilliant exceptions. One of the earliest specimens of this ugly Tudor architecture is St. James's Palace, London, which is of dull red brick, with low archways, small windows and unmeaning projections. The principal deviation from mansions erected in the two previous reigns was in the use of bay-windows, parapets and porticos. Where brick or stone were deficient the large country manor-houses were generally constructed of timber frame-work, with roofs carved in oak or chestnut. The mansions built under James I. and Charles I. were on a more splendid scale than those built in Elizabeth's time.†

Among the principal ornaments of those mansions was the picture gallery, which was filled chiefly with family portraits. Hence the art of portrait painting flourished greatly; but the higher order of painting was scarcely practised in England at a time when Italy had given to the world a large number of masterpieces, and was still producing them in profusion. The sister

* Lingard, *History of England*, vol. 8, p. 299. See also the character drawn of her by Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*.

† Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales:* passim.

science of music, however, was assiduously cultivated by both high and low.* Glees, catches, rounds and chants were immensely popular, and some fine sacred music was produced. Of the popularity of songs there is abundant evidence in the dramas of Shakespeare and others, wherein they are repeatedly introduced,—apparently whenever there is a reasonable pretext for it. Part-singing was a favorite pastime of all classes; and it may be doubted whether this delightful amusement was ever better understood and practised in England than it was in Elizabeth's time. As has been before observed, she was herself a proficient in music, and excelled in playing on the virginal, an instrument in use among our ancestors prior to the invention of the spinnet and the harpsichord, the predecessors of the piano.

Before the invention of newspapers the principal purveyors of intelligence as to passing events were special couriers employed by the government, nobility or merchants. The chief nobility also had correspondents abroad and in London on purpose to write news-letters. In London, St. Paul's cathedral was a great place to stick bills for advertising, and to hear news, and servants were sent thither to obtain it. The first newspaper published in England is said to have been issued by order of Queen Elizabeth in order to give the people news of the appearance of the Spanish armada in the English channel.† Three numbers of this are preserved in the British museum: but it was soon given up, and there was no regular vehicle for political intelligence for many years after Elizabeth's death (1603). It is scarcely fair, therefore, to attribute the origin of newspapers to the reign of the Tudors. The post office was first established in England in 1635, by Charles I. Prior to that time there existed postmasters, but their business was confined to the furnishing of post-horses to persons who were desirous of travelling expeditiously, and to the dispatching of extraordinary packets upon special occasions. And this was all the postal accommodation there was in the days of the Tudors.

* Knight, *Popular History of England*, vol. iii., p. 302-3.

† Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, vol. 4, p. 574. But this paper, "The English Mercurie," is suspected of being a forgery. See note to same.

That the postal service was not a very expeditious one may readily be imagined from the fact that the only roads properly so called were from one large town to another, with such cross tracks as unfrequent communication would form: and those were kept in such indifferent repair that in wet or snowy weather they were frequently impassable. Travelling was dangerous and difficult, not merely on account of the holes and sloughs in the roads, but from the highwaymen who swarmed everywhere. No one ventured to go about unarmed, and people generally travelled in company for mutual protection.* No places were more insecure than London streets at night: they were dimly lighted here and there by lanterns with wax lights hung out from windows, but this was only during the nights between All-hallow-tide and Candlemas. There was no police, and only a few infirm watchmen, of whom Dogberry and Verges may be taken as favorable specimens: these venerable "Charleys," as they were subsequently nicknamed, took good care either to sleep in their watch-boxes, or to give evil-doers due notice of their whereabouts by crying the hour in a loud tone.

In the country, people used to travel on horseback, with carriers. The mode of conveying goods was by pack-horses, the packages being secured across their backs. We get a fair insight into this system and the condition of roadside inns from Shakespeare. In *Henry the Fourth*† we find two carriers in the inn-yard of Rochester, one saying that he has a gammon of bacon and two razes of ginger to be delivered at Charing Cross, and the other that the turkeys in his pannier are quite starved. They wished to travel in company, for one says, "Come, neighbour Mugg, we'll call up the gentlemen: they will along with company, for they have great charge." And Gadshill, speaking of foot-pads, says, "I am joined with no foot land-rakers, no long-staff sixpenny strikers; none of these mad, mustachio purple-hued malt-worms; but with nobility and sanguinity, burgomasters and great ones—yes, such as can hold

* Harrison, *Description of England*, Book 3, c. XVI. † *Henry IV.*, 1st Part, Act 2, sc. 1.

in; such as will sooner strike than speak." From which it would seem that the noble trade of "cutting purses" was not confined to mere vulgar thieves. It seems to have been an habitual pastime with Falstaff and his companions.*

Our notice of England under the Tudors would be incomplete without a few words as to the population, revenues and military force of the country. With regard to the number of inhabitants, Mr. Froude thinks that it had remained stationary for a long period, and that it can only be rudely conjectured. A rough census was taken at the time of the armada, when it was found to be something under five millions; this was in 1588, but anterior to that there is no authority on which any reliance can be placed.† So says Mr. Froude; but this is not reconcilable with Sir Edward Coke's statement that he was employed with Chief Justice Popham in taking that census, and that he found the population to number only 900,000 of all sorts! But this probably means the number of males capable of bearing arms.‡ Harrison says that in 1575 the number of men fit for service was 1,172,674: but Guicciardini makes the total number of the inhabitants of England amount to only 2,000,000.§ With these conflicting authorities we must leave the question.

The military and naval force which England had to repel the armada with was disproportionately small. The navy consisted of only forty-two vessels: four of these carried forty guns: all the others carried fewer: there were but two ships of a thousand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons, and the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was 774. The militia of the kingdom in 1575 was computed at 182,929,‖ but their discipline was defective. The parsimony of Queen Elizabeth and the smallness of her revenue may have been the main causes of the weakness of England's naval and military forces. Hume estimates her ordinary income at not more than £500,000 a

---

* *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act 1, sc. 3; Act 2, sc. 2; Act 3, sc. 5; Act 4, sc. 5; Act 5, sc. 1. † *Hist. of England*, vol. 1, p. 12. ‡Hume, *Hist. of England*, appendix 3. § Ibid. ‖ *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. 1, p. 432.

year;* but she occasionally had recourse to extraordinary imposts and loans. She was, however, as careful of her means as her grandfather Henry VII. had been.

Commerce, arts and manufactures were in their infancy, comparatively speaking, under the Tudors, and as for science, there was none but the empirical systems of the mediæval schools. The bulk of the people were grossly ignorant and superstitious. They believed in all sorts of omens, charms, and apparitions, and had recourse in sickness to the most extraordinary modes of cure. We have seen that they were great eaters and hard drinkers, given to brawling, brutal amusements, and gross licentiousness: their domestic habits were filthy, owing to the want of light, ventilation, drainage and space in their dwellings. But they were brave, manly, hardy, and kindly in their relations to each other. Domestic servants were considered members of the family they served, and they usually passed their entire lives in the same family, being cared for by the master when too infirm to work. It was not an uncommon thing to find servants whose ancestors had lived with the ancestors of their master. The English under the Tudors were the tough, hard, tenacious progenitors of that great generation which overthrew the Stuarts and firmly established the foundations of constitutional liberty.

---

* *Hist. of Eng.* Appendix 3.

ART. III.—*Œuvres de* P. CORNEILLE, *avec le Commentaire de* VOLTAIRE, *sur les Pièces de Theatre, et des Observations critiques sur ce Commentaire, par le Citoyen* PALISSOT. Edition complète. 12 vols. Paris.

GREAT men are only comparatively so. No one absorbs all the talent of his age. The man of genius has only a little more ability of certain kinds than those who are not geniuses. Shakespeare was doubtless the greatest dramatist of his day, but there were others to contest the palm with him, and his recognized supremacy raised him not very far above some of his contemporaries and rivals. The great writer is the one who gives the best expression to the spirit of his age, and that spirit is the aggregate of human thought and aspiration then culminating. The principle of democracy is to be carried into letters, as well as politics, to enable us to judge correctly. Hero-worship belongs to imperfect ages and conditions. True discernment sees in the hero, the great man, one made by his fellows more than by himself, one, perhaps, whose thoughts and aspirations are not superior to those of many others, but who is gifted with superior expression, or executive ability, or whom circumstances afford the opportunity of showing what he is.

> "Many are poets who have never sung
> Their inspiration, and perhaps the best,"

says Byron. Yet we can do no better, at present, than to take some men as representatives of the spirit of their age, and to make them the objects of our admiration.

It has been said of Corneille that he "created" the French theatre, and to him, doubtless, much more than to any other individual, is due the credit of establishing the modern drama. Indeed, Pierre Corneille almost contradicts our observations upon the relative greatness of eminent men. From almost nothing, at least from formless chaos, he produced a revolution in the theatrical world and placed the drama upon a basis of excellence that has scarcely been improved since his day. In matter he owed much to his age; for the form of his dramas almost nothing. As an artist he is especially deserving of praise, and, considering what models he had, of the highest.

In the south of Europe literature considerably outran those of the northern nations, and especially in matters of taste and form. In this respect the French have always excelled, and we think it is not too much to admit that they do so still. Their special practical excellence consists in their adaptation of literary works to the wants and needs of the people. This they have accomplished principally through the drama, which attained a position of excellence in the age of Louis XIV.

The first attempts at literary expression have doubtless always been made in poetry, and, indeed, through tropical phraseology the greater part of all languages of civilized peoples have been derived.* The literature of the Troubadours and Trouveres was the parent of the modern French. There is discoverable in it the germ of many of the most marked characteristics of the drama of the age of Louis XIV. It dealt with subjects that came home to the hearts of the people; it was a practical expression of their wants and desires of a romantic order. There is no doubt that the gaiety and the gallantry that distinguished the age of "le grand monarque," are traceable to the courts of love and *arrêts d'amour* of the Troubadour era. There was also in the former epoch a wild freedom of speech and action which was continued in the latter, though somewhat subdued and softened, and confined to merely social affairs.†

After the fables and songs of the earlier days of French poetry, the madrigals and epigrams, the refrain stanzas, ballads, rondeaux, and romances, the nearest approach to the drama were the miracle plays and mysteries. Marot, of the court of Francis I, was the first to give to French versification a more refined and graceful character, which it has since borne. This man, a lover, and a more or less favored one, of two princesses, was a true successor of the Troubadours. Poets were still courtiers, for literature had not been recognized as an entirely independent profession to be followed for its own sake and dis-

* "Poesy was the cradle of the French language, as of almost all known tongues." La Harpe.

† "La poésie provençale c'était, pour ainsi dire, la liberté de la presse des temps féodaux; liberté plus âpre, plus hardie, et moins réprimée que la nôtre." Villemain, *Cours de Littérature Française.*

connected from external affairs. Such a character it retained in France to the time of Louis XIV., and even then the great dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Molière, courted the people rather than the king and the nobility, finding that the applause of the many was more to their advantage than the favor of the few. Corneille was, indeed, the first in modern times to make poetry a dignified and entirely independent profession, and he could only do so by pleasing the people.

After Marot, Dubellay and Ronsard still further improved French versification, and Malherbe made yet greater advances. The pleiades, as they were called, of Ronsard's day were, besides himself, Belleau, Baïf, Jodelle, Jean Daurat, Dubellay, and Ponthus. There were also Racan and Maynard, pupils of Malherbe, a number of court poets, of whom only Voiture and Bensarde are deserving of mention. The père Cemoine, author of *Saint Louis*, is also remembered. All these did something for French versification and the French theatre. As a poet Malherbe was the most deserving. He was highly esteemed by Henry IV. and by Louis XIII.*

The first dramatist worthy of special attention as such before Corneille's day was Jodelle. He took for subjects Cleopatra and Dido, and treated them in the Greek manner, with prologues and choruses. Before his time there had been printed in verse translations of several Greek tragedies which began to be studied as models. Lazare Baïf translated the *Electra* of Sophocles, and the *Hecuba* of Euripides, and Sybilet gave a versified rendering of *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Jean de la Péruse had represented *Medea*, translated from Seneca, and Grevin had brought out at the college of Beauvais a *Mort du César*.

Garnier improved upon Jodelle and his cotemporaries, but has still little to recommend him, while he is greatly wanting in purity and elegance. A still further advance was made by Mairot, whose *Sophonisbe* was on the French stage after the appearance of Corneille. He also produced a tragi-comedy, *Sylvie*, which was first played in 1621, fifteen years before the *Cid*, and created a great sensation, though when Corneille repre-

* "Malherbe fut vraiment un homme supérieur; c'est son nom qui marque le seconde époque de notre langue." La Harpe.

sented his famous drama, that of Mairet was perceived to be absurd. Thirty years after, Corneille wished to produce a *Sophonisbe*, he could not displace the piece of his predecessor for the purpose.* The *Mariamne* of Tristan was also popular on the French stage, and held its place after Corneille. Voltaire has treated the same subject, which is taken from Josephus.

The appearance of Corneille and even his first pieces gave an entirely new character to the French stage. Comparing his crudest efforts with *Sophonisbe* and *Mariamne*, the best then known, we see a vast difference in his favor. When we consider also that these wretched plays were his best French models, we cannot but wonder at what he accomplished.

Pierre Corneille was born at Rouen in 1606, and died at Paris in 1684. We have few reliable details of his life or his early years. Even the date of his birth was disputed, and finally settled in 1826 by a commission appointed for the purpose. His father was master of forests at Rouen, and the son was designed to be his successor. He tried the law, but with no love for the profession, and was not successful. It is related that it was through love he was first inducted into dramatic composition. A young friend becoming enamored of a damsel, presented Corneille, whom she found more attractive than his introducer. This pleased Corneille, and he made it the subject of his first comedy, *Mélite*.† This comedy apeared in 1629,‡ and was the commencement of the glorious career of the dramatist, in which he produced thirty-three pieces. The play was well received, and a new company of comedians was, in consequence, formed. It was generally objected, however, that the piece was too barren of incident and did not observe the

* The subject of Sophonisbe has been an unfortunate one for modern poets. Many will remember the Scotch poet, Thompson's, play of that name, and its famous line,

"Oh! Sophonisbe, Sophonisbe, oh!"

and the critic's deprecatory parody,

"Oh! Jemmy Thompson, Jemmy Thompson, oh!"

which killed the play.

† Fontenelle, *Vie de P. Corneille.*

‡ Fontenelle says 1625, but see *Nouvelle Biog. Generale.*

unities. It is believed that Corneille knew nothing of the unities when he composed this comedy.* He, however, endeavored to profit by the criticisms bestowed upon his effort, and set himself diligently to work to master the dramatic art and to understand the public taste. He then composed *Clitandre*, which was first performed in 1632. In this comedy the unities were carefully observed, and it was over full of incidents. Whether he attempted in this piece to please himself or merely to cater to the popular taste is a mooted question.† However, from this time he assumed a more natural style, and seemed intent only upon writing really good dramas, without reference to success. Between the date of the appearance of *Clitandre* and 1635, he produced four more comedies, *La Veuve*, *La Galerie du Palais*, *La Suivante*, and *La Place Royale*, the last of which, particularly, was a great popular success. In *La Veuve* he first dispensed with the *aside*, which he never liked.‡

These first six comedies of Corneille's were far superior to anything that had preceded, but, compared with his subsequent works, they show him not yet to have got his full strength. He worked hard and with true principles for the attainment of excellence, and received meanwhile sufficient encouragement, if that had been needed, to persevere. At first he admitted into his plays the licentious gallantry which was then in vogue, but afterwards he purified his style, in accordance with his own correct principles, and his subsequent plays are not objectionable in this respect.

The French theatre was at this time in a flourishing condi-

* Guizot, *Corneille et son temps.*

† Fontenelle says he only wished to censure the public taste, but this is doubtless conjecture.

‡ La Fontaine had the same dislike to the *aside*. He was once contending against it with several literary men, and, as was his wont, became so heated with discussion as to be oblivious of interruptions. He declared it absurd that something said so loud as to be heard by the audience, should be supposed to be unperceived by one near the speaker. Dèspreaux commenced abusing him, calling him "a scoundrel," "an ass," "an owl," etc.; not one of which epithets La Fontaine heard, so occupied was he with his harangue, which furnished the wit with an argument and an illustration in favor of the *à part*.

tion, due in great part, doubtless, to the patronage and fostering care of the Cardinal Richelieu. The study of the ancients as models was especially encouraged. From this encouragement, and the general diffusion of an improved taste, Corneille must have profited. His biographers generally concede nothing in this regard to the cardinal, which is no doubt unjust.*

Corneille seems to have decided that he could do something better than to produce amusing comedies. He tried tragedy, and, in 1636, *Médée* appeared, imitated from the *Medea* of Seneca. This piece was but moderately successful, though greatly superior to anything of the kind previously produced in France. Voltaire declares that he would have remained unknown to posterity had he produced nothing else, yet admits that it was the first piece in which was discoverable any of the taste of antiquity.† The subject of *Médée* was unhappily chosen, yet the poet showed in it an elevation of style compared with preceding writers, that indicated his superiority. The monologue of Medea, imitated from Seneca, is a fine piece of writing. Two or three passages in this drama have become celebrated, as:

> "Me peut-il bien quitter après tant de bienfaits?
> M'ose-t'il bien quitter après tant de forfaits?"‡

The success of *Médée* was insufficient to encourage the poet to proceed with the writing of tragedies, or he did not yet feel strong enough immediately to make further efforts in that direction. He returned to comedy, and, in the same year with his first tragedy, appeared *L'Illusion Comique*, in which there is nothing specially remarkable. He was at this time advised by M. de Chalon, former secretary of the queen, Maria de Medecis, to take up the study of Spanish. M. de Chalon gave him lessons in Spanish, and placed in his hands Guillain de Castro, and Diamenté. These authors had both written dramas on

* Perrault, *Les Hommes Illustres*, t. 1.

† "Corneille avait trente ans quand il donna sa *Médée*; c'est l'âge de la force de l'esprit, mais il était encore subjugé parson siècle."—Voltaire.

‡ "Il est impossible de dire plus en peu de mots; c'est le vrai sublime."—La Harpe.

the subject of the Cid, and Corneille borrowed their theme and produced what is probably his most successful tragedy.

Spanish authors were greatly in vogue at this time, and many of the best pieces on the French stage were borrowed or imitated from their neighbors. Corneille did not borrow his play; it resembles those of his predecessors very little, and is far superior. The success of the *Cid* was all that the most hopeful author could have desired. With all the beauty of the piece itself, its appreciation by the public was doubtless heightened by the jealous antagonism of the Cardinal Richelieu, and of his creature, the Academy.

Corneille had been one of the authors pensioned by Richelieu; but after the appearance of the *Cid*, and the opposition of the cardinal, he gave up his pension, published his "Epître à Arioste," and avowed his confidence in his talents to furnish him the means of support, and to achieve for him success.

The cardinal induced the authors who were under his influence to write against the *Cid*, and insisted that the Academy should sit in judgment upon it. Before this could be done it was necessary that Corneille should consent to have his piece reviewed by that tribunal. Being approached on the subject, he gave what was taken for consent, but in a manner worthy of his proud and consciously superior spirit. He said: "Messieurs of the Academy can do what they please. Since you write to me that monseigneur will be well pleased to have their judgment, and that it will *divert* his Eminence, I have nothing to say."

The Academy assembled on the 6th June, 1637, and named three commissioners of examination. The indictment against the *Cid* was drawn up by Scudéry. After five months of debate and of negotiations with Richelieu, there appeared, in 1638, the *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid*, which, when printed, formed an octavo volume of nearly two hundred pages. In this judgment the Academy endeavored to satisfy the cardinal without offending the public, and they succeeded with a piece of special pleading which seemed to include both sides. They declared that the subject of the drama was not good, and proceeded to state in detail their objections to the work. Their

criticisms are in part just, though in their strongest objections have been shown to be without foundation by Voltaire and La Harpe. They declared that it was morally unlikely that Climène should consent to espouse the murderer of her father on the same day that her parent was killed. This is, in fact, the incident upon which the whole plot hinges, and to condemn it is to accede to the judgment of the Academy that the subject is bad.

There may be a question as to the propriety of Climène espousing the man who had killed her father, abstractly considered: yet as Corneille has treated the subject it is one of the most daring and successful incidents in all dramatic literature. By a perusal or representation of the *Cid*, we are elevated above ordinary judgments, and feel that the denouement is just what it should be; indeed, it is a grand triumph of justice over conventional sentimentality. The action of the play, it is proper to remember, is in Spain in the fifteenth century, and in the times of chivalry. A gentleman was, by the customs then prevalent, bound to avenge an insult offered to his aged father. Should he fail to do so he would have been universally execrated; "he would not have been despised only, he would have been abhorred."* Rodrigue was fully justified in killing the father of Climène; it was, indeed, a filial duty from which he could not escape. He from the first fully appreciates the terrible position in which he is placed by no fault of his own, and excites our sympathy to the most intense degree. Inexorable fate seems to condemn him to the depths of misery.

Climène is not wanting in filial devotion, and the struggle between a sense of duty on the one hand and her love for Rodrigue on the other, is so depicted as to excite the warmest interest. After his conquest of the Moors and deliverance of his country, Rodrigue becomes a hero for whom we feel that no happiness can be too great. There is only one way in which he can be satisfactorily rewarded, and that is by the hand of Climène. We are startled by the daring of the poet in finally bringing the two together, but we are more than satisfied, we

* La Harpe.

are delighted, for he has made us feel that this is the proper denouement.

The great commentator on Corneille has pointed out that Climène did not consent to wed Rodrigue on the day that her father was killed. She consents to obey the king, which she recognizes as a peremptory duty, but leaves us in doubt as to when the espousal will be consummated. The words in which she makes this avowal are a fine example of the simplicity and beauty of Corneille's language in this drama :

" Il faut l'avouer, sire,
Mon amour a paru, je ne puis mon dédire.
Rodrigue a des vertus que je ne puis haïr,
Et vous êtes mon roi ; je vous dois obéir.
Mais à quoi que déja vous m'ayez condamnée,
Pourrez-vous a vos yeux souffrir cet hymenée?
Et quand de mon devoir vous voulez cet effort,
Toute votre justice en est-elle d'accord?
Si Rodrigue à l'état devient si necessaire,
De ce qu'il fait pour vous dois-je être le salaire,
Et me livrer moi-même en reproche éternel,
D'avoir trempé mes mains dan le sang paternel?
Act V., Scene 8.

It will be seen from this that Climène fully recognizes her situation, and only yields a sort of enforced consent, though the spectator is fain to believe it a willing one, as it accords with his sense of justice and the merits of Rodrigue.*

Notwithstanding the opposition of Richelieu, the criticisms of the Academy, and the hostility of a crowd of jealous rivals, Corneille had every reason to be satisfied with the success of the *Cid*. It was hailed with delight by the people everywhere, and it is said that in several provinces of France it passed into a proverb, *beau comme le Cid*.† Fontenelle says that Corneille had in his cabinet the drama translated into all the languages of Europe, excepting the Sclavonic and the Turkish, and including the Spanish. No one at this day can read the piece

* Voltaire, who says, "Il me semble que ses beaux vers que dit Climène la justifient entièrement."

† Fontenelle.

without being powerfully interested. That it has faults as a work of art, cannot be denied. It has been well objected that the rôle of the Infante is quite useless, and that it interferes with other characters. It is also urged that the king of Castile is represented as stupidly imprudent in not taking measures to prevent an incursion of the Moors, though well aware that it was to be expected.* It seems to us that Corneille had a right to represent the king as wanting in discretion if such a character suited his poetic purpose. There is reason for the criticism that the rule which forbids that the scene should be left empty is frequently violated. The monotony of the scenes between Rodrigue and Climène is also spoken of as a defect. There is doubtless more of such conversation than is strictly necessary, yet it heightens our sympathy for Rodrigue to hear him so often declare his willingness to die to escape from his complications, and we are also prepared by these touching interviews for the final display of love which Climène makes for one she has seen so afflicted. There is, probably, too much of declamation in the rôle of Climène.

The next subject of Corneille's muse was that of the Horatii. The historical facts upon which the drama was founded are quite meagre, and he was obliged altogether to create his characters. The combat between the three Horatii and the three Curiatii is a famous episode in Roman history, yet it furnishes little material for the dramatist. That Corneille succeeded much better than could have been expected is beyond question. That there are in the drama situations and passages of great power and beauty, is universally admitted. Voltaire says that the subject of *Horace* was not made for the theatre, and certainly, if judged by strict rules, the drama is open to severe criticism.

It is not a classical drama; indeed Corneille never was strictly a classic writer in the French sense of the term. He was not a student of Greek literature. Roman history and literature he was quite familiar with, and no one was better fitted to appreciate and represent the Roman character. He

* La Harpe.

borrows sometimes from Latin writers, yet everything treated by him he makes his own.* This is especially exemplified in *Horace.*

There are some incidents in the piece which are too revolting for representation, and which justify the judgment of Voltaire regarding the unfitness of the subject. One is the murder of Camille by her brother, which the dramatist could not avoid without violating history. It is said that Corneille originally intended to have Camille killed upon the stage, but that the actress who played the rôle became frightened at the sword and ran away, which induced the poet to alter the scene. Another objectionable feature is the accusation of Horatius before the king, by Valerius, who has not before appeared. The character of Camille does not always appear to good advantage. Her love is feebly expressed, but that is a usual fault with Corneille. It is further objected that love is an inferior object in the piece, and Voltaire says that it should never have the second place.†

On the other hand the characters of the two Horatii have a Roman grandeur that excites intense interest. The old Horace particularly is a sublime type of the Latin patriot and warrior. He loves his sons, but he prefers their honor, and that of his country, to their lives. He wishes them to fight for Rome, and considers it a glorious privilege for them to be permitted to do so. Yet his paternal heart has in it some weakness of apprehension, which is, however, quickly repressed. He interrupts

> "Ah! n'attendrissez point ici mes sentiments.
> Pour vous encourager, ma voix manque de terms:
> Mon cœur ne forme point de pensers assez fermes,
> Moi-même, en cet adieu, j'ai larmes aux yeux.
> Faites votre devoir, et laissez faire aux dieux."
>
> Act II., Scene 8.

* "Neither the ancients nor the moderns have furnished Corneille anything; all is his own creation."—La Harpe.

† Voltaire believes that to make a good play without love is very difficult. Corneille, says La Harpe, had reason to be proud of his ability to make a tragedy without love, yet never undertook it; while Racine, who excelled in treating that passion, produced the first dramatic work from which it was entirely absent.

the sad adieux of the two young warriors with words which have been often admired:

Every heart is touched by this display of parental feeling so reluctantly exhibited; this tenderness that blossoms so beautifully upon the character of the stern old Roman.* By these touching words, which reveal the soft side of the old man's nature, the spectator is better prepared to appreciate the stern grandeur of the *qu'il mourût*, in the seventh scene of the third act, in reference to the supposed dishonor of his son.†

The scene between Horatius and Curiatius is also admirable, and the words "Je ne vous connais plus * * * je vous connais encore," have always created a furore only somewhat less marked than the "qu'il mourût." The account of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, imitated from Livy, is very lively. Other scenes have a simplicity and grandeur which transport one to the ideal days of Roman greatness. *Horace* was a popular play, yet it never excited the universal interest that attaches to the *Cid*. One reason for this, besides the faults of the subject, is probably the closer sympathy of modern times with topics connected with the days of chivalry than with those of earlier epochs. As an evidence of power, *Horace* seems to us quite equal to anything that Corneille has written. That he could so well transport himself and us into the olden times, and represent their character so perfectly, excites our highest esteem. Corneille said of this drama that it was "condemned by the duumvirs, but absolved by the people."

Horace was dedicated to the Cardinal Richelieu in terms which appear laudatory, yet there is perceptible in them a vein of something like irony.‡ "It is not without blushing that all the recognition I can give you is a present so little worthy of you and so little proportioned to what I owe you." From

* "J'ai cherché dans tous les anciens, et dans tous les théâtres étrangers une situation pareille, un pareil mélange de grandeur d'âme, de douleur et de bienséance, et je ne l'ai point trouvé."—Voltaire.

† "Voila ce fameux *qu'il mourût*, ce trait du plus grand sublime, ce mot auquel el n'en est aucun de comparable dans toute l'antiquité. Tout l'auditoire fut si transporté qu'on n'entendit jamais le vers qui suit."—Voltaire.

‡ Fontenelle.

the treatment he received in regard to the *Cid* it would seem that Corneille did not owe the Cardinal much. The supposition that he wished to propitiate the powerful minister is hardly consistent with his character.

Cinna followed *Horace*, and appeared in the same year. The subject is also a Roman one, the clemency of Augustus, but the situation and the characters are entirely different. In the former drama are depicted the manners of the Romans in the earlier days; in the latter we are shown their character when at the height of power, and previous to the decadence of the empire. The old Horace is the type of the ancient character; Augustus is a representative of another kind of virtue. It would be difficult to say which is the more admirable as a painting, but the magnanimity of the emperor is morally superior, and belongs to a more civilized age than the courage of the father of the Horatii.

Voltaire terms this the "chef-d'œuvre du grand Corneille." The unity of action is perfectly preserved in this piece; all the scenes tend to the denouement, which is the exhibition of the sublime magnanimity of the emperor. The excellences of *Cinna* being more of the moral and artistic sort, it could not be expected that it would be so popular as either the *Cid* or *Horace*.

The rôle of Cinna is peculiar; La Harpe pronounces it vicious. Yet there are reasons for dissenting from this judgment. Cinna is weak, and he is desperately in love. By his love he is completely in the power of a strong-willed woman. His struggles between humanity and the impulse to do what he must to win Emilie are admirably portrayed. He is naturally noble and brave, and it is inevitable that he should waver between the motives which influence his course. In this respect he is comparable to Climène in the *Cid*. At one time he appears determined upon the assassination of Augustus as though it were a solemn duty; again he is remorseful though still resolved. We are made to feel that he deceives himself in supposing that it is patriotism, the desire to rid his country of a tyrant, that actuates him. He has no personal hatred against the emperor; he is given cause, in the course of the play, to feel

admiration and gratitude for him, yet his purpose holds. He is inspired by the love of Emilie, and cannot act otherwise. This we think subtly artistic, beyond the discernment of the majority of Corneille's critics. At one time he looks upon the proposed assassination as the most praiseworthy action.

> "Plût aux dieux que vous-même eussiez de quel zèle
> Cette troupe entreprend une action si belle."
>
> Act I., Scene 2.

Then again in the next act he sees it as a crime, but still necessary. The character of Emilie is a striking one. It is not womanly, yet we can readily believe it not impossible among the Romans. She is unswerving in her determination to avenge the death of her father who had been slain by Augustus, and animates her two lovers with the same sentiments.

> "Je l'ai juré, Fulvie, et je le jure encore,
> Quoique j'aime Cinna, quoique mon cœur l'adore,
> S'il me veut posséder, Auguste doit périr,
> La tête est le seul prix dont il peut m'acquerir."
>
> Act I., Scene 2.

When questioned and reproached by Augustus, she fearlessly avows and justifies her determination to take his life.

> AUGUSTE.
> Songe avec quel amours j'élevai ta jeunesse.
> EMILIE.
> Il éleve la vôtre avec même tendresse;
> Il fut vôtre tuteur, et vous son assassin;
> Et vous m'avez au crime enseigne le chemin.
>
> Act V., Scene 2.

Her speech when she believes Cinna to have abandoned the enterprise, and resolves to take it upon herself, is particularly good. The character of Maximus is not interesting, though his treachery gives us a surprise. The colloquies between him and Cinna are often tedious, while containing many fine passages and noble sentiments.

> "Et le peuple inégal a l'endroit des tyrans,
> S'il les deteste morts, les adore vivans."
>
> Act I., Scene 2.

Euphorbe, the freedman of Maximus, is very wise and Machiavelian, too much so for his position and importance. Fulvia has nothing to do except to counsel Augustus to pardon the culprits. This detracts somewhat from the merit of the emperor, as the suggestion of clemency comes from another. In the character of Augustus and his act of magnanimity is the great interest of the piece. He speaks always like a sovereign and a Roman. There is a conflict in his mind between a desire to be clement and at the same time to secure his own safety. His soliloquy after the discovery of the conspiracy is one of the grandest pieces of writing to be found in all literature.

"Mais quoi! toujours du sang et toujours des supplices!
Ma cruanté se lasse, et ne peut s'arrêter:
Ja veu me faire craindre, et ne fais qu'irriter.
Rome a pour ma ruine une hydre trop fertile;
Une tête coupée en fait renaître mille,
Et le sang répandu de mille conjurés
Rend mes jours plus mandites at non plus assures.
Octave n'attends plus le coup d'un nouveau Brute;
Meurs, et dérobe-lui la gloire de ta chûte,
Meurs; tu ferois pour vivre un lâche et vain effort
Si tu de gens de cœur font des veux pour ta mort,
Et si tout ce que Rome a d'illustre jeunesse
Pour te faire perirs à tour s'interesse;
Meurs, puisque c'est un mal que tu ne peux guérir;
Meurs, enfin, puisqu'il faut tout perdre, ou mourir!
La vie est peu de chose, et le peu que t'en reste
Ne vaut pas l'acheter par un prix si funeste;
Meurs, mais quitte du moins la vie avec éclat,
Eteins-en le flambeau dans le sang de l'ingrat,
A toi-même en mourant immole ce perfide;
Contenant ses desirs, punis son parricide;
Fait un tourment pour lui de son propre trépas,
En faisant qu'il le voie et n'en jouisse pas:
Mais jouissons plutôt nous-mêmes de sa peine;
Et si Rome vous halt, triumphons de sa haine."

Act IV., Scene 3.

His questioning of Cinna is very searching and touching. The terms in which he pardons Cinna and asks him to be his friend are more than royal.

" Je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers ;
Je le suis, je veux l'être, O siècles, ô mémoire !
Conservez à jamais ma dernière victoire ;
Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux
De qui le souvenir perisse aller jusqu'à vous.
Soyons amis, Cinna, c'est moi qui t'en convie ;
Comme à mon ennemi je t'ai donne la vie ;
Et malgré la fureur de ton lâche dessein,
Je te donne encore comme à mon assassin."

Act V., Scene 3.

Polyeucte, Corneille's next play, appeared in 1640. This is by some thought to be his culminating work. He certainly did not afterwards produce anything to equal it. The author himself admitted that the piece was not well adapted to the stage. Yet it had a very considerable success, and has always been looked upon with favor as one of Corneille's *chefs-d'œuvre*. Dealing with religious questions, it was acceptable to the French people at the time of its appearance, when the quarrels of the Jansenists and their opponents had begun to excite attention. *Polyeucte* has a different order of merit from any of the three tragedies which had preceded it. In respect to subject and style of treatment, it is rather the climax of the four works which are Corneille's great ones. The *Cid* gave expression to the highest moral conceptions connected with the age of chivalry ; *Horace* represented the moral grandeur of the old Romans ; *Cinna* furnished a type of the highest conceivable excellence in the more civilized era of the nation ; while *Polyeucte* elevates us to a perception of the highest Christian virtue.

Polyeucte is a religious enthusiast, and doubtless a well-portrayed specimen of the early Christian. Contrasted with him we have Sevère, a type of the civilized Roman, whose generosity and nobleness of character would leave an unprejudiced person in doubt which to prefer, the Christian or the "heathen." Pauline is probably the most truly womanly character ever drawn by Corneille. Felix is a well-depicted representative of the selfish, utterly conscienceless time-server and politician. The daring act of Polyeucte and his friend in outraging the popular religious sense, while certain that it will insure their destruction, we feel to be an accurate picture of

Christian zeal. We are interested in the dilemma of Felix, exercised between love for his daughter and a desire to save the life of his son-in-law, and fear of the emperor and the populace. But the most charming situation is that of Pauline, loving Sevère, yet married to Polyeucte; too true and womanly not to do all she can to save the life of her husband, yet, in spite of herself, conscious that his death will open for her a way to greater happiness. Polyeucte seems to care little for her in comparison with his zeal for his religion, which is true to the Christian character and teachings. In the prison scene, her devotion, the character of Felix, and the sublime but inhuman fanaticism of Polyeucte, are finely contrasted.

PAULINE.

Où le conduisez-vous?

FELIX.

A la mort.

POLYEUCTE.

A la gloire.

Chère Pauline, adieu; conservez ma mémoire.

PAULINE.

Je te suivrai par-tout, et mourrai, si tu meurs.

POLYEUCTE.

Ne suivez point mes pas, ou quittez vos erreurs.

Act V., Scene 3.

The final conversion of both Pauline and Felix is objected to, as it is evidence of a miraculous interposition. It seems proper that the good and true Pauline should become a Christian, but the case of the contemptible Felix is altogether different.*

We have given an examination, as full as space would permit, of the four tragedies of Corneille which are regarded as his master-pieces. His next drama, *Pompée*, has many fine scenes, but it is on the whole inferior to his former tragedies. The opening scene, representing Ptolemy deliberating with his ministers as to the reception he should give to Pompey, who had been defeated at Pharsalia, and was seeking an asylum in Egypt, has been justly admired. The scenes between Cæsar

* La Harpe.

and Cleopatra are perhaps too natural, but they are not very interesting, and the character of Cæsar appears in a light in which, as we usually regard him as a hero, we do not like to contemplate him. The character of Cornelia, as artistically presented without her direct appearance, excited intense pity and admiration.

In 1641, our poet produced *Le Menteur*, the best of his comedies, the subject of which was taken from a Spanish play, the *Verdad Sospechosa*, which Corneille, in his preface, calls a marvel. *La Suite de Menteur* which was less successful, followed, in 1643. *Rodogune* was the next work, and was received with enthusiasm. The author preferred this to all his other pieces. *Theodore* appeared in 1645, and *Héraclius* in 1647, from which time the author's powers began perceptibly to decline. *Héraclius* was also a Spanish subject, and the play was partly imitated from Calderon.

Though several times proposed, the author of the *Cid* was not yet a member of the Academy; in each instance some comparatively obscure, and now forgotton individual being preferred before him. In the year 1647, however, a vacancy occurring, Corneille was again nominated, but, as before, another was chosen in his stead. This person requested that the great dramatist should be preferred to himself, and Corneille was accordingly admitted.*

In 1650 appeared *Don Sanche d'Aragon* and *Andromède* the latter a *pièce à machines*, its subject taken from the metamorphoses of Ovid. In 1652 he produced *Nicomède*, and in the next year *Pertharite*. The latter was his first positive public failure from the time of the *Cid*, being represented only twice. Corneille seems about this time to have resolved on finally quitting the theatre, and busied himself with the verse *Imitation de Jésu Christ*, which he finished in 1656. He, however, returned to the theatre in 1659, at the solicitation, it

---

*We recall with satisfaction, Voltaire's double fling at the Academy and an obscure poet.

"Pauvre Piron que ne fut jamais rien,
Pas même academicien."

is said,* of M. Fougnet, and produced *Œdipe* which was a considerable success. Next appeared *La Toisson d'Or*, composed to celebrate the marriage of the king, and in 1663, *Sertorius*.† His remaining works were *Saphonisbe*, 1664; *Othon*, 1665; *Agésilas*, 1666; *Attila*, 1667; *Tite et Bérénice*, 1670; his part of *Psyche*, 1671; *Pulchèrie*, 1672, and *Surèna*, 1675, when he finally renounced the theatre.

Corneille was a hard worker, and his success, considering the circumstances attending his career, is almost without a parallel. We must remember that the *Cid* appeared thirty years before *Andromaque*, the first great tragedy of Racine, and that *Le Menteur* was produced sixteen years before *L'Etourdi*, of Molière, and twenty-two years previous to the *Tartufe*. That Corneille could accomplish so much in both tragedy and comedy, standing as he did alone, with no good French models, and no worthy rivals, and so individual as he was in all his works, entitles him, we think, to greater admiration than those who have been compared with him. Racine was only a tragedian, Molière only a comedian; Corneille was both. Molière and Racine had each the advantage of Corneille's great example, though neither imitated him.

Fierce contests have sprung up between the admirers of Corneille on the one hand, and of Racine on the other. To the latter is generally awarded the praise of excellence as a tragedian. Yet, taking all the circumstances into consideration, we might quote, in reference to these two, Pope's parallel between Homer and Virgil: "In the one, we most admire the man; in the other, the work." Corneille certainly carries off the palm for variety, and, we believe also, for imagination. He has more faults, but also more striking beauties. He is certainly much less classic than Racine;—after the Greek pattern he cannot be called classic. He is not, on the whole, so much esteemed by cultivated Frenchmen, but he is more to

*Fontenelle.

†C'est ici à proprement parler, que finit le grand Corneille: tout le reste n'offre que des lueurs passagères d'ungénie etient. Il n'y a rien dans *Théodore*, dans *Attila*, dans *Pulchérie* dans *Suréna*.—La Harpe.

the taste of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races, and doubtless because he is more imaginative and less exact.

The French have always excelled in matters of taste; their critics insist upon a strict conformity to rules. Whether more is gained or lost to individual writers by this method, we shall not attempt to judge; we are sure, however, that the severity of French taste and criticism has been of great benefit to the literary world. It has taught poets, and especially dramatic writers, to mould their creations and pleasing forms in accordance with classic principles. We have no doubt that the rule requiring a rigid observance of the three unities has been carried too far; that it has often hampered the flights of genius, and caused the condemnation of many creditable works. At the same time, it has been a benefit to writers to have some exact standard, and one based upon reason, by which to measure their productions. Trained to consider this strictness of form as essential, the French have never been able really to tolerate Shakespeare, or any of the northern dramatists.*

Corneille borrowed much from the Spaniards, and this fact must not be lost sight of in estimating him and in judging of modern French literature, and that of other nations affected by it. The Spaniards were the first to produce the species of tragi-comedy which is the peculiar characteristic of the modern, as contradistinguished from the ancient classical drama. This blending of the two kinds of representation, Corneille carried to a greater extent than any writer that had preceded him.

Sublimity, force, and variety, are our author's most marked characteristics. He depicted bold characters in situations calculated best to exhibit a muscular strength, a rugged virtue in manners and morals. It is a peculiarity of the sublime that its flights cannot be long sustained. Corneille had no tenderness to take its place; the soft scenes of love were not his *forte*.

*La Harpe, commenting upon a translation of Hamlet, says: "The work is preceded by a preliminary discourse in which it is proposed, for a model of dramatic art, to a nation which has Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, a barbarous author of a barbarous age, who has sprinkled with traits of genius, monstrous pieces, regardless of good sense, of likelihood, of style, of unity, of propriety (convenances)."—*Correspondance littéraire*, Lettre xliii.

It has been remarked of him that no one soars so high or sinks so low. Molière said that he had a sprite which sometimes dictated beautiful verses, and then altogether deserted him. There are many passages in his works that are striking and beautiful, mixed with others that are common-place. He is often exaggerated, and not always delicate. Yet he is grand in all respects in comparison with anything that had preceded him, especially in respect to refinement and taste. He will always be a favorite of expansive youth, and will be read with delight by those of mature years whose hearts are yet fresh.

His nephew, Fontenelle, has given us a full and pleasing picture of the personal appearance of Corneille. It is what we should expect from his writings. We see a man rather tall and large, with a simple air, and negligent of his person. His countenance is of the grand order, but with an agreeable, animated expression; the nose large, the mouth fine-cut and pleasing, the eyes full of fire. He was of a melancholy temperament; his manner was *brusque* and sometimes appeared rude. He spoke very little and his discourse was without ornament. He was a good husband and father and a zealous friend. He was not at all given to gallantry or to excessive attachment, though inclined to love. He had a proud, independent spirit, not at all prone to vanity, though fond of glory. He never loved the court and seldom frequented it. He had an intense horror of business, so that though his income was considerable he never became rich. His nature was deeply religious as would be inferred from his pieces.

While producing his great works Corneille was the subject of envy and detraction. A score of rival authors turned their pens against him, and did their best to write him down. Afterwards, when he had become superannuated and it was useless to depreciate him, he was lauded to the skies and put forward with the purpose of decrying Racine, who was now become the object of literary jealousy. Probably he has suffered more from injudicious over-praise with a spiteful motive, than from direct abuse. As the first great French classic he is deserving of especial regard; for his merits he is worthy to be considered a model.

ART. IV.—*Newspapers of various kinds, Tinted and Untinted, devoted wholly or partly to the "Movements of society", and to certain new forms of what is vulgarly called Jenkinsism, Flunkeyism, etc. etc.* New York, Boston and Philadelphia. 1871.

THESE papers remind us of the monument dedicated by Semiramis to herself with this inscription: "Whatever king wants treasure, if he opens this tomb he may be satisfied." Darius who was always rather greedy eagerly opened it, but instead of the coveted treasure found another inscription which ran thus: "If thou wert not a vile person and of insatiable covetousness, thou wouldst not disturb the mansions of the dead." Be this as it may, it is idle to disguise the fact that what is called the public, at the present day, is too like an overgrown, spoiled child that brings ridicule and contempt on himself and discredit on his parents and teachers. We may as well admit frankly that if there be not an improvement very soon, when the historian of a century or two hence comes to examine our manners and customs, as illustrated by the newspapers, his record of us will be anything but complimentary. If he makes use of the metals in his descriptions, we may expect the middle of the nineteenth century to be known to distant posterity as our age of brass, for every impartial observer must admit on reflection that there is an immense amount of the brazen element in our civilization.

Yet, when all the facts, or even the few to which we can allude in this paper are considered, the age of pewter may, upon the whole, be found to have a more peculiar fitness in our case, seeing that tin and lead have properties regarded by the learned as representing certain human foibles that are too well known among us just now. But either the age of brass or the age of pewter * would be less objectionable and less humiliating than the age of sham, the age of self-glorification, the age of horn-blowing, the age of braggardism, the age of puffery, the

* Pejoraque sæcula ferri
Temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
Nomen, et a nullo possuit natura metallo.
—Juv., xiii. 38.

age of half-puffery, half-vilification, etc., any of which distinctions might be urged as having a strong claim to the pre-eminence.

Two years ago we tried, incidentally, to put the public on its guard against the demoralizing greediness for the most vulgar praise which has since become a mania. Those who remember our article entitled "Ethics and Æsthetics of our Summer Resorts" will bear us testimony that we fully pointed out the tendency of "society" to render itself ridiculous by its morbid craving for what it regarded as distinction, but what was really nothing more than an absurd, silly notoriety.* That peculiar species of infatuation had then no distinctive organs; there were none who devoted themselves to it, exclusively, as panders. But now it has its exponents in all parts of the country although the new class of illuminators seem to regard New York as their Mecca. It is not with the "Society" journals, however, that we have to do. They are merely some of the results, not the causes, of the prevailing malady; they are as much designed to supply a demand for the sake of profit as the butcher's shop, or the omnibus. By this, however, we do not mean that the new organs are blameless; but they are, in general, so much beneath criticism that we shall have nothing further to do with them than to extract from them

* The following extract will show that the views we express to-day are no hasty or newly suggested conclusions:

"Now is the time for the 'grand hop of the season;' and the veritable Jenkins makes his appearance on the scene. It is not sufficient for Jenkins to eulogize the landlord as a paragon of generosity and all other virtues supposed to belong to hotel-keepers from the time of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp down to the present; all the guests, male and female, who have contributed their dollars to the "grand hop," receive their respective shares of the plastering. As for the ladies, they are endowed with attractions never dreamed of, even by themselves, before; still more wonderful, if possible, are their accomplishments. All belong to the "first families," and their full names are given in turn with their *couleur de rose* portraits, according as themselves, their fathers, brothers, beaux or husbands have done the handsome thing at the "resort;" while upon the other hand the world, at least the gullible part of it, is called upon to admire the generosity of the landlord, on the ground that he got up the affair 'in honor of his numerous and highly respectable guests!'"—*National Quarterly Review*, No. XXXVIII., Sept. 1869.

some specimens of what those who employ them get for their money as glory and renown.

It is as true now as it ever was, that it is those who deserve praise least that long for it most, and are willing to pay the highest price for it. At the same time there is nothing unaccountable in the condition of the public stomach in that regard. We may as well admit that it is just as might be expected. Our earliest lessons are in the science of eulogy. What proportion even of our colleges, male and female, depend for their very existence on puffery? It is the great lever of three-fourths of them; and the worst thrive on it so far as securing patronage and making money may be regarded in that light. We do not mean, however, that it is the pupils even of this class of colleges who chiefly render themselves ridiculous in the manner to which we allude. But there are a large class who think that what institutions calling themselves colleges are so fond of, must at least be respectable. If college professors like to be noticed and praised in the newspapers why not tailors, shoemakers and butchers, as well as quack doctors, gamblers, etc.? If one has a right to buy a puff like any other commodity, why not another?

It is equally natural that there should be a variety of tastes in this as well as in other matters. Accordingly some have their merchandise praised, others themselves. One wants his machines eulogized, another his "movements in society." Tom wishes the world to know that his hoop-skirts are superior to all others, Dick thinks it better to announce that he has made his fortune at the liquor business, and has lately bought several magnificent houses, while Harry prefers to proclaim that he has a charming daughter, or a bewitching wife. Some give prominence to their horses, others to their carriages. One does not care so much about what the world thinks of either his horse or carriage, provided it is properly informed as to the peculiar style of livery worn by his coachman.

We pause here lest we might seem to those who have given no attention to the subject, to indulge in exaggeration, but we will show as we proceed, by merely presenting some extracts from the papers before us, that exaggeration is out of the ques-

tion. At the same time it must not be supposed that we are in any lugubrious mood. Although public opinion in this country is sadly vitiated, it is in no worse state than the public opinion of every great nation has been at a certain stage of its civilization. When Cervantes wrote his celebrated romance, no people in the world were making themselves more ridiculous than a certain class of Spaniards. Ostentation and notoriety were then the great things, quite as much as they are now. Distinction and fame were as much the objects of Don Quixote as they are of those in our time who are constantly advertising their "movements" in the newspapers. Had not exploits more or less similar to those of the Knight with the rueful countenance and his Squire occurred in real life, there would have been no true humor or utility in relating them. It was because they were faithful transcripts, as described by Cervantes, that their influence was so powerful.

And the same remarks, but slightly modified, will apply to the portraitures of Le Sage in Gil Blas; especially to the adventures of the hero, and the facility with which he could exchange the calling of a tolerably smart valet, or copyist, for that of a learned doctor, capable of curing all the diseases that flesh is heir to. There may also be some consolation in remembering that the best of Molière's comedies were designed to ridicule habits and customs very nearly, if not quite, as silly as those which now prevail to such a lamentable extent in this country. If quackery flourishes with us, so it once did in France, as may be seen from *L'Amour Médecin*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, *Le Médecin volant*, *Le Malade imaginaire*, etc. If some of our fine gentlemen who wish to be considered models in "society," superintend the cooking and mind the babies in order that their wives may be able to devote their attention to state affairs, as well as the affairs of their neighbors and rivals, Molière had the same phenomenon to deal with, as may be seen from his *Ecole des Maris*. If a portion of our ladies have an ambition to be considered a little more learned than they really are, the French ladies of two centuries ago had a similar weakness, as may be seen from *Les Femmes savantes*, *L'Ecole des Femmes* and *Les Précieuses ridicules*. Nay, the most greedy and most unprinci-

pled of our millionaires and misers, who are always seeking renown by one contrivance or other—including even those who wish to be regarded as at once civil, military and naval chieftains—have their prototypes in comedies like *L'Avare*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, *Les Amants magnifiques*, *etc.**

Nor are the antecedents of our English cousins anything better. Before they laugh too much at us, as they do from time to time, they ought to remember their grandfathers and grandmothers as portrayed by Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Massinger, Butler and others. But they need not go so far back; the time of Addison and Steele will be far enough. It will be quite sufficient to turn to the pages of the Spectator, although society had then made vast progress in England. True, when Addison and Steele wrote, the various tribes of imbeciles they describe could not boast their regular organs, as their descendants in this country can now. Perhaps they were not quite so numerous as they are with us, but they had precisely the same tastes, instincts and aspirations which their posterity exhibit in the journals before us.

But instead of the praise now so abundant, nothing was to be expected then for that class of mortals but ridicule and derision. Hence it is that we read of so many queer clubs in the Spectator—such as the Ugly Club, the Widows' Club, the Hebdomadal Club, the Everlasting Club, the Club of Lovers, the Club of She Romps, etc., etc. Such were the prototypes of our various mutual admiration societies. It is true that in some instances the latter present some modifications; but we are by no means sure that they are improvements further than that it may be considered an improvement that in our day and country one can get the worth of his money in the shape of a eulogy, as well as in that of a bar of soap, or a dish of molasses.

We do not mean that what is called Jenkinsism or puffery is entirely unknown in England at the present day, for the traffic is carried on there on quite an extensive scale. But as it has developed itself among us within the last three or four

*Les louanges d'aujourd'hui ne partent que de l'interêt. On loue tous ceux dont on croit avoir à espérer ou à craindre; *jamais on n'a vu moins d'estime et plus d'éloges.*—Duclos, *Considérations sur les Mœurs.* Ch. iii.

years, it is confined to the most vulgar class of shopkeepers and other small tradesmen, who by some happy knack have made more money than they know how to make decent use of. In short, however painful to our self-love the fact may be, it must be admitted that the only branch of the great Caucasian family which at the present day carries self-glorification, braggardism, adulation, puffery, etc., etc., to the same extent to which they are carried among ourselves, are the good people of Australia. It would probably be found on a close examination that the Australians go still further in this direction than we, if such be possible.

What is, perhaps, still more remarkable, a little research would show that the Australians had their tinted weekly papers devoted exclusively to the glorification of "society," at least five years before us. We well remember having seen a paper in 1866 entitled "The Bon Ton," published at Sydney, which contained nothing else than "first-rate notices" of the enterprising and ambitious aristocracy of New South Wales, their wives, daughters, houses, parlors, drawing rooms, horses, carriages, coachmen, liveries, etc., etc. We laid the precious organ aside carefully at the time, as a curiosity of literature, having little idea that we should so soon have several similar publications in New York. Judging from the "Bon Ton" one would have supposed that Sydney was the great centre of modern civilization, and that there was no real style, no refinement, no ancient lineage, anywhere else.

A Chinese philosopher like Goldsmith's, or a Persian sage like Montesquieu's, would have concluded at once, that of all the white tribes the Australians alone knew how to get up, and how to attend parties, for nearly a whole page of the luminary alluded to was filled with accounts of "receptions," each surpassing its neighbor in "brilliancy," "éclat," "splendor," etc. Only a few in this country knew much then about receptions more than other things of a kindred character and design, supposed to be aristocratic and fashionable, but still exotics. But who is ignorant now that there are such things as receptions in Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore, as well as in New York, although nowhere do they flourish on so immense a scale as they do in the commercial metropolis of the new world?

There is no satisfactory evidence that we have borrowed the reception plan from our Australian cousins. It is certain that they can claim priority in the one fashion as well as in the other. The files of the "Bon Ton" would, we think, place this beyond dispute. Some may think it strange that the same organs should be devoted to descriptions of receptions, and full and particular accounts of "movements in society;" but it should be remembered that both fashions had a common origin. There is no custom more ancient among kings than that of holding levees, drawing-rooms or receptions, for the purpose of honoring such of their subjects as considered it an honor to get a glance at them occasionally, and perhaps kiss one of the royal garments on bended knees, or entirely prostrate before the throne. Even in England, so fond of kings and regal ceremonies, this reception affair had become so much a mockery two centuries ago, that Milton introduces Satan as honoring his subjects by the same device. After the poet has duly described the great palace of Lucifer, "together with his throne surrounded with pyramids and towers

> **"From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold,"**

he proceeds to give an account of the aristocratic assemblage as follows:

> **"For thither he assembled all his train,**
> **Pretending, so commanded, to consult**
> **About *the great reception* of their king,**
> **Thither to come; and with *calumnious art***
> **Of *counterfeited* truth, thus held their ears."***

Receptions would be quite harmless, however, even in a republic, if kept within reasonable bounds. Everybody has a perfect right to invite his friends to meet at his house at a particular hour of the day or night, and the friends, though they be but nominal, have a right equally indisputable to accept his invitation. If they have an ambition to excel their neighbors in fine dress, that, too, they may attempt, provided the money they choose to spend in that way is their own honest earning. Sup-

---

* *P. L.*; V. 767.

posing when all meet they have little or nothing to say except about dress, the imperfections of their neighbors, the weather or the last murder, why should they not indulge even in a little pantomime if such be their taste? Have they not just as good a right to do so as the ballet girls?

If our ladies wish to dabble somewhat in scandal, as well as display their fine dress, jewelry, etc., there is nothing so anomalous after all in meeting Lady Sneerwell, Lady Frizzle, Mrs. Drowzie, Mrs. Candour, etc., or at least some of those personages in a republican drawing room. And if those good ladies cannot fully vindicate their respective characters as set forth in the diplomas of their "School" without the aid of a Sir Benjamin Backbite, and a Joseph Surface, is there any lack of such gentlemen in New York? * This question will readily suggest such distinguished names as the Hon. Tom Thimble Rig, the Hon. Jonathan Halibut, the Hon. Darby Bolus, the Hon. Billy Squash, Lieut. Colonel Falstaff, Dr. Harry Sangrado, and a host of others.

That all these and as many more as wish to do so should amuse themselves by getting up or attending receptions, is a thing nobody has a right to complain of. But if they obstruct the streets with their receptions, and make a regular business of doing so, then the aspect of the affair is entirely changed—the receptions become a downright nuisance. They had reached that climax in New York early last autumn; nor did they cease to be a serious incumbrance to our thoroughfares during the whole winter, and the greater part of spring. Yet those who were detained longest in the streets by the huge displays were often as much disposed to laugh as to scold. Indeed, most sensible people regarded the whole affair very much as they did the velocipede mania, and thought most of the men concerned in the former very nearly as silly and ridiculous as the boys concerned in the latter.

But only few knew how much glory there was in the reception business. It seemed very unaccountable, even to those

---

* Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem, nisi mendosum et mendacem?—Hor. Ep. i, 16.

who expected least sense or discretion, that a mere shake hands with Mrs. Halibut, Mrs. Bolus, or Mrs. Squash would give rise to such elaborate ostentation in dress, jewelry, harness, livery, etc., until they learned that all those fine things were duly chronicled, at so much a line, in various journals, tinted and untinted; and that their owners were endowed with attributes, accomplishments and graces, by the same means, which they had never hitherto been suspected to possess. But, as we have said, though the fashion may have come to us only from New South Wales, *via* San Francisco, it is marked by the prestige of royalty, as well as that of high antiquity.

A still more ancient custom than that of attending receptions, levees, etc., is that of making a great noise about the king whenever he condescended to make even the briefest excursions from his capital. Up to the time of Henry VII. bells used to be rung and horns blown whenever his majesty manifested himself to his loving subjects in this manner. Nay, this was one of the first uses to which cannon was devoted. If there was no other means of creating a noise sufficiently loud at his approach, iron pots were sometimes hammered for that purpose until they were pots no longer. When the prince or princess appeared, there was noise also, but only about half as much as that made for the king. His majesty's prime minister was honored with about one-fourth the royal share. Thus, there was a gradual diminution of noise in proportion to the diminution of rank, until all the noise the royal scullion could claim, even in the most benighted districts, was that created by a jews-harp and a pop-gun.

But the invention of newspapers produced a complete revolution in those ancient modes of honoring the great, although to this day there are persons who fire cannon, beat drums, sound brazen instruments, and make loud speeches by way of conferring honor. These, however, are but exceptions—remnants of the system pursued for so many centuries by our Gothic, Saxon and Celtic ancestors, and do not set aside the fact that the noise made now is chiefly of the metaphorical genus. But is the new kind less ridiculous, less absurd, or less demoralizing, in most cases, than the old? Addison and

Steele thought not, although the Jenkins style was but in its infancy in their time. That Steele understood this is sufficiently evident from a paper of his in the Spectator,* in which he gives a specimen of a newspaper which is to embrace some of the improvements on the existing plan, which have been brought to so much perfection within the last decade.†

It may, as we have said, be some consolation to many to know that, although among no great people has the Jenkins trade been carried to the same extent it has been among us, the sort of spirit that dictates it has manifested itself in every Caucasian nation at a certain stage of its civilization. There was a time when it flourished nowhere so much as in Germany. Toward the close of the middle ages, and for more than a century afterward, it was in as high esteem in that country as the finest beer. Feudalism had produced a host of petty princes, dukes, barons, burgomasters, etc., and each had so high an opinion of his own merits that all who were willing to proclaim those merits at least got their stomachs filled for their pains. As for Poland, the most learned and patriotic of its historians‡ declare that adulation and vituperation were the chief causes of its fall, since the one caused its wealthy men to consider themselves as the salt of the earth, while the other excited a constant strife, which afforded the neighboring sovereigns a pretext for declaring the whole nation a nuisance, and a constant menace to the peace of Europe.

---

*No 452.

† The good people who relish such things as are now called "movements in society," are described by Steele as "men of a *voracious appetite, but no taste.*" One or two of the items from the paper that was but imaginary a century and a half ago, would show, in view of what we read at the present day, that Steele might have made some claim to the prophetic art:

"We are informed from Pankridge (Pancras, then a fashionable resort,) that a dozen weddings were celebrated in the mother church of that place, but are referred to their next letters for the names of the parties concerned."

"Letters from Brompton advise that the Widow Blight had received several visits from John Mildew, which affords great matter of speculation in those parts."

* * * * * * * * *

"Letters from Paddington bring little more than that William Squeak, the sow gelder, passed through that place the fifth instant."

‡ Trabezynski, Litwinski and Pohl.

If all this be not sufficient to show that those of our people who are ambitious to be considered our aristocracy, are not peculiar among the great in their love of glory and their willingness to purchase it at whatever might happen to be the market price, they can refer for examples both to the Greeks and Romans. No classes are more graphically described by Aristophanes and Lucian than the puffers and their employers. It is only necessary to read a few pages in Sallust to see what class of the Romans wished to be eulogized at a certain rate; as for Juvenal, the curious reader need not go beyond his first satire to find Jenkins portrayed to the life, and see that even "interviewers" are not altogether modern inventions. He will learn, at the same time, that if at the present day it is the most unprincipled people who are generally most praised—because it is they who need praise most, and accordingly are most willing to pay for it when they succeed in their speculations—it was exactly the same in ancient times; for one of the satirist's chief illustrations is the case of a notorious forger, who has enriched himself at the expense of his neighbors, and whose pæan the Jenkins of the day is ready to sing at the usual price if he meet with his highness even at the market cross.*

We trust our readers will excuse us for having detained them so long in the vestibule, especially as there are few of them who have not already had a glance at the interior of the structure into which we want to introduce them in the present instance. We have already remarked that the puffing journals are in existence only because things of the kind are in demand. It is not necessary, therefore, for our purpose, to mention their

---

* Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
Quadrivio, quum jam sexta cervice feratur
Hinc atque inde patens, ac nuda pæne cathedra
Et multum referens de Mæcenate supino,
Signator falso, qui se lautum at que beatum
Exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda? —Juv., Sat. I. v. 63.

"Do you not long to *fill your capacious tablets, even in the middle of the cross-ways*, when there comes borne on the shoulders of six slaves, exposed to view on either side, with palanquin almost uncurtained, and aping the generous Mæcenas, the forger, who made himself *a man of splendor and wealth* by a few short lines."

names, and we have no disposition to give pain even to the puffers when no good is to be expected from it. Nor are we so sanguine as to hope that our remarks will have much effect on so deep-rooted and widely-extended a mania as that now under consideration; but if they should only cure half a dozen honest, well-meaning people, these would cure others, so that the run it would take, if left to what the quacks call the *vis medicatrix naturæ* might be considerably shortened.

It is certain that there are ladies and gentlemen whose names appear in the "society" journals not only without payment, but without their knowledge; there are those who would not, for any consideration, allow their names to appear in such company if they could possibly prevent it.* But these are few; they are introduced without ceremony merely to give the vulgar crowd an air of respectability, and make them believe that they have laid out their money to good account. There is not much danger, however, in confounding the few who are forced into such "society" with the rabble who pay for their entré as a precious boon; accordingly when we give specimens of "notices" to show what progress has been made in the art, we shall, in general, deem it entirely unnecessary to express any opinion as to whether so much a line, or a word, has been paid for the precious stuff or not. It is almost superfluous to add that the ladies who are praised most for their beauty, accomplishments, amiability, etc., because they pay the highest price, are generally those who are most destitute of each.

We could give some amusing illustrations of this, but we prefer to allow the reader to make those discoveries for himself; and in order to avoid as much as possible placing the innocent in awkward situations, we commence our specimens with the "movements" of such members of "society" as gamblers, butchers, tailors, whiskey and lager beer dealers, etc. In a few instances at the outset, we substitute fictitious names for the real ones, but in every other particular our extracts shall be *ver-*

* "They tell us that gad-flies creep into the ears of bulls, and ticks into the ears of dogs. But I am sure the parasite lays so close siege and sticks so fast to the ears of the ambitious with the repeated praises of their worth that it is no easy matter to shake them off again."—*Plutarch's Morals*, vol. ii., p. 116.

batim: "Thomas C. Allears, Esq.,of East Twenty-Sixth street, has taken rooms for the summer at the Krimlin Hotel. He is to be accompanied by his charming lady, whose eyes are as bright as ever. Mrs. Allears will, of course, be the belle of the Krimlin." "It is not true that the Hon. Timothy Balderdash has taken rooms at the Magnolia House. It is said that he took his family to the place with that intention; but although the amiability of Mrs. Balderdash is proverbial, she thought she could not turn her back on dear Newport, after all. Everybody knows that wherever Miss Angelina Balderdash goes she will have no equal in beauty or accomplishments." "Henry James Codfish, Esq., is one of the distinguished guests at the Grand Union Hotel. Mr. Codfish is an esteemed member of one of our most worthy families. Just before leaving town he paid $61,500, for a house in one of the most fashionable blocks in Madison avenue." "The Hon. Jerry Dunderhead and his highly gifted and accomplished lady, left their splendid mansion in East Seventeenth street three days ago for the Branch; they had not yet fully decided whether they would take a cottage or a choice suite at the Continental. In either case Mrs. Dunderhead will be the centre of attraction. She is a graduate of the Pottsville University, and the ease and grace of manners which fascinate everybody she comes in contact with, are largely, if not exclusively, due to the fact, that in her *alma mater* the young ladies and gentlemen study and recite side by side." "Mr. Daniel Epicene, of Broadway, arrived on Saturday last at the Grand Hotel, Saratoga. He was only accompanied by his daughter, Miss Laura Epicene, one of the most fascinating young ladies of eighteen summers that even Saratoga has seen for many years. Mrs. Epicene (*née* Pumpkin), intends spending at least a week at Newport, with some distinguished English friends before she joins her esteemed and worthy husband at Saratoga. The new carriage ordered from London six months ago will then be ready."

We will now transcribe some important pieces of information exactly as we find them, including the names; but in order that our readers may be able to judge for themselves how such valuable news finds its way into the "proper channel," we

quote a sentence or two from a long "notice" embracing rules and regulations at the head of the first editorial column in one of the tinted papers:

"Invitations to Weddings should include a card list of Names of Bridesmaids, Groomsmen and Ushers, *that those parties may not be inconvenienced and their names appear incorrectly written.* No item of news will be used under any condition unless accompanied by full address of the contributor, etc., etc."

How many enterprising and ambitious gentlemen have had their jealousy or their envy excited by the following?

"Mr. Isaac H. Brown, the genial and popular sexton of Grace Church, is passing the Summer very agreeably at Little Silver. Mr. Brown is accompanied by his family, a row boat, a sail boat, and a horse and buggy. He passes his time in fishing, sailing, riding, rowing and in reciting his recollections of New York, scores of years in the past. Mr. Brown is the life of Little Silver, which place he contends, is one of the most delightful Summer resorts in the country. Keating will soon take his band over from Long Branch to give the 'boy' a serenade."

What a fine specimen of an aristocrat Brown is! Not far off, in the same paper, we find the following:

"General Newton, in order the more fully to superintend the operations of blasting the rocks at Hell Gate, has engaged a cottage for the season at Astoria."

Is not that very praiseworthy on the part of the General? Has he improved in his superintending since he engaged the cottage? But it is not necessary to go even to Astoria for blasting, or any other purpose, in order to secure a little renown if one will only do the right thing at home. In proof of this we give a part of a eulogy on a knight of another order, still confining ourselves to the same number of a tinted paper.

"Mr. I. P. Hull, the gentlemanly tailor under the Metropolitan Hotel, has made many of the noblest suits seen on Broadway this Summer."

Lest Mr. Hull's modesty should be put to too severe a test, we omit the remainder of his accomplishments and merits especially as we doubt their genuineness. Before turning to

another number we avail ourselves of a few more interesting items.

"Mr. Archibald Montgomery, Vice-President of the Mercantile Insurance Company, has been for some years a resident of Whitestone, where he owns a beautiful mansion, situated in the midst of highly cultivated grounds."

This will be very gratifying to the policy-holders of the Mercantile, and may even increase their number, for a "beautiful mansion" at Whitestone is a valuable possession, and the value of it is perhaps enhanced by the fact that the owner has been a resident in that region for "some years." We are quite willing to admit that those who prefer the cultivation of their grounds to that of their minds or their manners should be duly credited for the distinction. "Mr. Abraham Binninger [the liquor man] owns a beautiful estate fronting the East river at Whitestone, etc." It seems that several other personages who are ornaments of society, reside either temporarily, or permanently in the same favored locality.

But the ladies may accuse us of neglect. We must try to avoid this. "Mrs. Levi Brigham, of Claremont avenue, is at her father's elegant country seat." "Mr. and Mrs. Maybee, of Elm Place, will shortly leave for Fairfield, N. J." "Miss Jennie Williams, of Broadway, is on a visit to her cousins, the Misses Schulting, of Passaic, N. J." "The Miss Hawkins are residing at New Brighton for the summer. They are very attractive and stylish. "Miss Aurora Decker, of Port Richmond, is a very attractive and pretty girl, etc." Turning to another number of the same journal we are edified and instructed thus:

"A mysterious beauty, in a slate-colored silk and brown straw hat, trimmed with pink velvet, was the object of much attention at Central Park Garden last Monday evening. The gentlemen were in a state of nervous anxiety regarding her *personale*, but the fair *incognito* quietly vanished without gratifying their curiosity."

In the next column to this highly grammatical and learned announcement we find the following: "Miss Avery, of Eighty-second street, and Miss Laing, of Seventh street, were surrounded by a bevy of admirers, etc." "At the New Columbian

Hotel we find a beautiful blonde, Miss Alice Stoll, of New York; Miss Kate Connor, of New York, whose beautiful golden hair is much admired; and Mrs. W. J. Malcom, of Philadelphia, whose appearance is graceful and commanding."

Those in the habit of reading the "society" papers need not be informed that the specimens we quote of "notices" to the ladies are among the least objectionable we find. Our respect for the sex restrains us from reproducing such equivocal compliments as "where her society is always in demand," "her dancing in the small still hours leave several bewitched," "the finest limbs of any young lady at the springs," "a brunette whose nicely chiseled lips, sparkling eyes and golden hair, and lively, graceful movements, fascinate all men, etc."

The stereotyped compliment to men who wish to stand very high in "society," is that they are great favorites with the ladies. First, the merits and accomplishments of the individual are duly set forth, and the puff closes "a universal favorite, etc." It is almost needless to remark that it is the coarsest and most vulgar—those repulsive to all having the least refinement—who are most frequently described in this way; the same as it is often the homeliest and most uncultivated women that are set down as the most beautiful and most accomplished ladies. The butcher or the fish-monger can make as good a figure in the tinted journals as the most fastidious of his customers, although he may have to pay a little extra for his sudden elevation to glory and renown.

As for gentlemen of the stamp of Col. Fisk, jr., they are lauded to the skies in all the "society" journals. In a number of that from which we have taken the above extracts, a whole broad column is devoted to a vindication of his many virtues. According to Jenkins, no great man has ever been more basely traduced than that honest functionary and distinguished chieftain. And turning to another "society" journal we find the "movements" of the same gentleman presented as worthy of no slight admiration. Speaking of the grand scenes at Long Branch, our puffer says:

"Naturally enough, the equipages that attract the most notice and occasion the most comment are the President's and Colonel Fisk's. Each

of them has several different ones, and bring them out by turns. The other day, Mrs. Grant and Nellie were out in a pretty Victoria, drawn by a pair of bright bay horses. The driver was in dark livery. Mrs. Grant was dressed in a heavy black silk, with an elegant lace shawl draped over her shoulders, and wearing a hat of black thread lace. Miss Nellie wore a white muslin over a delicate silk, hat trimmed with blue velvet, and an aigrette. They were attended by Fred. Grant and a friend of his, on horseback. Colonel Fisk had a clarence, lined with black satin, with gold trimmings. The horses were fancy mated—one bay, the other gray. The driver was in English livery—white *pantaloons descending only to the knee*, top boots, blue coat, and hat with a cockade. Colonel Fisk and Mrs. Morse occupied the carriage, etc."

It is gratifying to learn that the President of the United States has the spirit to rival Col. Fisk, jr. in the variety and style of his equipages. It seems, however, that the Colonel carries the palm in the matter of livery, and his driver wears pantaloons that only descend to the knee! Still more illustrious, if possible, than the brave Falstaff, according to the journal last quoted, is the learned Sangrado.* In proof of the fact we quote:

"The Helmbolds have a very elegant turn-out, and their six-in-hand vies with Colonel Fisk's. It has not made its appearance this season, for the family are in Saratoga, spending a little time before coming to Long Branch."

It would be a great mistake to suppose that those forming the *élite* of our "society" according to the new system are only eulogized once or twice during the season. Even a dozen times are not considered sufficient. We have now before us large files of different papers, and there are not a few of our notabilities who are duly chronicled in each. Some are exhibited to our admiration more than once in the same number; that is, in one column we have a particular set of merits, in another a different set; and in order that full opportunities may be afforded for the variety, our "best society" keep "moving" as much as possible. But we transcribe a few more items: "Mrs. Helmbold and Mrs. Sheridan Shook will lead at Long Branch

*"Thus, Mithridates could no sooner set up for a physician than some of his acquaintance desired to be cut and cauterized by him on the ground that things divine take many shapes."—Plutarch's *Morals*.

this year, in the number and elegance of their summer toilettes." "Mr. and Mrs. Bayard Smith (*née* Norwood) are delightfully situated at Staten Island, on the shore of our beautiful bay." "Mr. and Mrs. Carman (*née* Barry) are in Brooklyn." "Union Adams, Esq., and family, of this city, and the Hon. John H. Lockey, of Massachusetts, are at present located at the Clarendon Hotel, Saratoga Springs." Is it because Mr. Adams is so smart at selling under-garments and other "notions" that it is of such importance to the world whether he is "located at the Clarendon," or elsewhere? Or is it because he occasionally barters some of those commodities for a certain other article of questionable value?

But enough; our space as well as our patience is almost exhausted. Such is the mode at the present day for making a noise in the world and securing a high position in society. We have shown, however, that the trick is by no means new; it is the old story slightly modified—the very same silliness and flunkeyism, for instance, so well hit off by Cowper:

> "Thus when a child, as playful children use,
> Has burnt to tinder a stale last year's news;
> The flame extinct, he views the roving fire;
> There goes my lady, and there goes the squire,
> There goes the parson, oh, illustrious spark,
> And there scarce less illustrious, goes the clerk."

The only difference is that the mania had not developed itself in Cowper's time, as it has of late in this country. When the above lines were written there was, indeed, sufficient to excite no small amount of scorn and ridicule; but these were not their regular market at which the most vulgar twaddle was bought and sold as more precious than the miraculous ointment of Vishnu, which was supposed to have the property of transforming a Sudra into a Bramin.

Nor can even the best of our daily papers claim to be altogether blameless in this matter. Within the last two or three years their "personal intelligence" has attained dimensions very much disproportioned to the importance of the great majority of the items of which it is composed. For every one who has

the least claim to be announced in any such manner, at least a dozen have no other claim than that of having a larger stock of money or imprudence than their neighbors. In other words, for every one somebody there are a dozen nobodies, or worse. There are, indeed, many instances in which the paragraphs devoted to the latter would be reasonable enough if their object were to put honest people on their guard. But who, except those immediately concerned, or those who are liable to lose by the information, cares a fig whether a certain politician, gambler, quack doctor, retired fishmonger or butcher, is "domiciled," "quartered," "located," "sojourning," "on a brief visit," or "among the guests," at this, that, or the other hotel? Would it not be well, therefore, to exercise some discrimination in the matter, bearing in mind that this is one of those instances in which a short list may be better than a long one, and in which it may be more honorable, as well as more useful, to have the former than the latter?

We do not accuse the daily press of demanding, or even accepting money for this sort of work. The renown they confer, or are supposed to confer, in this department, is, we believe, a free gift; but if they recognize money, or success in making it, no matter how, as a sufficient passport to honor and distinction, the effect on the public will be just as bad as if they had a graduated scale of prices, including invitations to dinner, etc., like the "society" journals. What makes quackery of all kinds flourish in this country as it does? Has the facility with which the most ignorant pretenders can have themselves proclaimed learned and infallible doctors nothing to do with the phenomenon? If ignorance is to be held in as high estimation as knowledge, is it not superfluous to toil for half a life time for the latter. If the swindler or the rogue can have his "movements in society" proclaimed with at least as great a show of esteem and admiration as the honest man who is a benefactor of society, is it any wonder that the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, is so rapidly diminishing? In a word, have those who are at least as ready to honor ignorance and rascality, as knowledge and honesty, any right to wonder if the former produce their legitimate fruits at an overwhelming and destructive ratio?

That our leading daily journals should be so ready to make pot-metal seem gold, and to cause the nauseous deleterious drug to be mistaken for the salutary balm is deplorable enough, although it is true that to a great extent their criticisms and denunciations may be regarded as antidotes. But the so-called society journals can claim no redeeming characteristic; their business is to represent impudence, presumption, vulgarity, rascality, and even infamy, for money, or its equivalent, as equal if not superior to all those qualities and characteristics which distinguish civilized man from the savage. So long as such a large proportion of those who ought to know better are silly enough to imagine that any honor, or any distinction save that of being laughed at, can be derived from such sources, "our fashionable circles," "the *élite*," "going into society," "receiving," etc., etc., must continue to be sadly equivocal expressions.

ART. V.—1. *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa.* By HENRY BARTH. London. 1858.

2. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries.* By DAVID and CHARLES LIVINGSTONE. London. 1865.

3. *Prehistoric Nations.* By JOHN D. BALDWIN, A.M. New York. 1869.

4. *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa.* By REV. DR. J. LEWIS KRAPF. Boston. 1860.

5. *Journal of Discovery to the Source of the Nile.* By J. H. SPEKE. New York. 1864.

IT appears strange, that after thousands of years of civilization in southern Europe, and in the Nile region, the great continent of Africa, lying so near to Egypt, Greece, and Italy, should yet

remain, in great part, *terra incognita*. Strange, when we consider that at an age almost beyond the reach of history, the interior of this continent was known quite as well as we knew it till late in the present century, and that it had been circumnavigated and colonized several thousand years before Vasquez di Gama rounded the Stormy Cape, and sailed up the eastern coast of this new world.

So vigorous has been the geographical instinct in man within the present century, that he has overrun all accessible portions of the earth, and is rapidly forcing his way into the hitherto inaccessible. Chief among the latter, the huge enigma of Africa, like the riddle of the Sphynx, yet awaits the Œdipus of discovery who shall give its solution to the world. The cause of this long seclusion is evident. Nature has surrounded this region with so difficult a barrier that we might imagine she had designedly intended to repel the invasion of travel. Across the whole breadth of the continent, on the north, stretches the great desert, an inhospitable boundary to the fertile country beyond. Southward from this the coast regions are infested with deadly malaria, and yield in proportion fevers fatal to the white races. The inhabitants are savage and hostile, either repelling travellers, or detaining and plundering them so as to effectually hinder their further progress. The Arabs, who alone penetrate the continent with impunity, are very jealous of the efforts of European travellers, fearing, with good reason, to lose the monoply of African trade, which they have so long possessed. Their opposition has greatly hindered the progress of discovery from the east.

In this vast region we find no Mississippi nor Amazon, presenting a grand path by which the fleets of maritime nations may force their way inward, despite opposition. The Nile, the most available watery pathway into this unknown land, is of difficult navigation, and not available for vessels of sufficient size to make their way through the perils of the river and the hostility of the natives.

Nor can the country be opened by military force. Even if European nations could desist from intestine war sufficiently long to divert their surplus energy to the purpose of opening this

great region to commerce and civilization, the experience of England in Abyssinia shows the futility of such an enterprise. In many other portions of the country European troops would meet an enemy more fatal than the snows of Russia proved to the legions of France, the deadly assault of tropical fevers, a foe tenfold more terrible than the savage inhabitants.

The only sure mode to *discover* this country, in the widest sense of the term, would be to encircle it with a cordon of colonies, like those at Liberia, at the Cape, and at other points, from which, as centres, the footsteps of civilization might press irresistibly inward. This, however, would be a process needing centuries for its accomplishment, and would ill accord with the eager spirit of modern civilization. We, nineteenth century people, who wish to know everything knowable on earth before we die, cannot appreciate that middle-age spirit which was content to begin cathedrals knowing that centuries would be consumed in their building.

Animated by this earnest desire for knowledge many resolute travellers have bravely dared the perils of the way, and forced themselves from various points into this great "undiscovered country," bringing us back much valuable information concerning its interior. Of these, unquestionably the most meritorious of modern travellers is Dr. Livingstone, that intrepid investigator who has laid a wide band of discovered country across the continent from ocean to ocean, and who has been for years lost in the heart of Africa, determinedly seeking the solution of the mystery. In this unknown region we have reason to believe he still lives, and to hope that he will yet bring to civilized man a tale which no living being, besides himself, is capable of telling.

Other investigators share the honors of this great quest, and have each contributed his quota to the full sum of our knowledge of the African continent. We may fairly hope that the present century, to which we owe nearly all our present information in regard to this portion of the earth, may complete the work, and utterly dispel the mist of doubt now shrouding it ere we stand in the year 1900, on the threshold of a new century. From all this research we are gradually

deriving some knowledge of the races and national limits of the Africans, which, combined with the fragments of African history given us by ancient writers, is yielding us some faint glimpse of the movements and conditions of mankind within this long hidden region.

At the very outset of a consideration of these facts we are forced to greatly modify our conception of Africa as the land of the negro. This conception is entertained not only by the ignorant, but by many intelligent and educated people; and with the exception of Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Mediterranean coast, all of Africa is popularly given to the negro race. In reality the typical negro inhabits but a small part of Africa, being chiefly the low coast lands around the Gulf of Guinea, with a few narrow districts in other localities. His range was probably more extensive in former times, as appears from the evident mixture of the negro element in the blood of the other African races.

"Africa, away from the coasts, is generally an elevated table land, mostly well watered, fertile and healthy. The great body of its people consists of a brown or olive colored race, occasionally described as the 'Red Race,' in which some travellers and ethnologists find a resemblance to the Malays; but in Africa this race is seldom found entirely pure; in every part of the country it shows very clearly the signs of intermixture with other races, both white and black."*

Dr. Livingstone speaks of this plain mixture of blood in the brown race as found in South Africa, and insists that the inhabitants of the western coasts are not the true type of the African people.

Some writers have attempted to show that the negroes are an exceptional people, derived from tribes of the brown race by some climatic influence of the low, malarious coast regions. As Mr. Reed states it, "the true Africans, a red-skinned race, descending from the table-land into the swamps, become degraded in body and mind, and their type is completely changed." This theory is not consistent with the fact that certain tribes of the brown race, as the Saabs or Bushmen, are quite as degraded in body and mind as are the negroes. The

* Prehistoric Nations, page 308.

only necessary answer to it, however, is the fact that the negro type is permanent. Return them to the table-lands or to healthy regions in other countries, and if they are simply degraded by miasmatic influences, we should see their original type reappearing—the fine forms, the long, curling hair, and the olive complexion replacing the negro characteristics. No indication of such a reversion is on record.

The indications of changes in the limits of negro dominion in Africa are accompanied by signs of other changes, indicated by an evident mixture of white blood in the brown races, There is great reason to believe that Africa was widely traversed in ancient times by Asiatic races, probably the people of Arabia, who have never quite lost their ancient influence on this continent. The eastern provinces of Africa stand prominently before us from times antedating history as the seat of a great kingdom of the whites, that remarkable Ethiopia, of which the ancient Greeks, knowing so little, entertained such exalted conceptions. The name is still employed to designate certain regions in eastern and central Africa, which may have formed part of those colonized by the enterprising Ethiopians of ancient times.

This people probably came originally from Asia. The early Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Sanscrit writers, appear to have considered Arabia as the country of the Ethiopians, or Cushites, as they are designated in the Scriptures. Mr. Foster says: "It is a matter of fact, familiar to the learned reader, that the names Ethiopia and Ethiopians, are frequently substituted in our English version of the Old Testament where the Hebrew preserves the proper name 'Cush.' And the name 'Cush,' when so applied in Scripture, belongs uniformly, not to the African but to the Asiatic Ethiopia, or Arabia."* Strabo speaks of "Western Ethiopians, who are the most southern of the nations below Carthage."† In the ancient Sanscrit geography, as found in the Puranas and other writings, we have a description of Cusha-dwipa, or the land of Cush, embracing the countries of south-western Asia, and of a subsequent Cusha-

* Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. p. 12.

† Book 11, ch. v.

dwipa *without*, situated in Africa. These pre-historic geographers had a knowledge of Africa greater than that we have yet attained. As evidence we may give their description of the Nile. "That celebrated and holy river (the Nile) takes its rise from the lake of the gods, thence named Amara or Deva Sarovera, the region of Sharma, between the mountains of Ajagara and Sitanta, which seem part of Soima-givi or the Mountains of the Moon, the country around the lake being called Chándri-st'han or Moonland; thence the Cali (Nile) flows into the marshes of Padma-van, and through the Nishada Mountains into the land of Barbara (Nubia, still known to the natives as Barbara), whence it passes through the mountains of Hémacúta into Sancha-dwipa proper (*i. e.* upper Egypt proper) there entering the forests of Topas (or Thebais), it runs into Cantaca-desa, or Misra-St'han and through the woods named Araúga and Atovi, into the Sanc'habdhi."*

Ptolemy also states that the Nile rose in certain mountains of the Moon, from two lakes lying east and west of each other, near the equator. Speke, one of the late re-discoverers of these two lakes, tells us that the country round the lakes is now called Moonland, and says: "Unyamuezi—Country of the Moon—must have been one of the largest kingdoms in Africa."† These traditions of a powerful kingdom of Asiatic colonists in Eastern and Central Africa, combined with the extensive knowledge of the interior of this continent possessed by the most ancient geographers, give us reason to expect to find traces of this early dominion yet remaining in Africa.

It is possible that the Egyptians are descended from this primitive stock, who may have originally crossed the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and advanced northward, down the Nile valley, to found that most remarkable of ancient kingdoms. In evidence of their migrations westward and southward we have yet remaining an important people in the region south of Abyssinia, who were probably descendants of the Ethiopians. These Gallas number now six to eight millions, and have, in

* Wilford's Papers in "Asiatic Researches."

† Journal of Discovery to Source of Nile, p. 98.

course of time, taken possession of a large portion of Eastern Africa. The name Gallas, in their own language, means immigrants, having been given them by the Arabs in evidence of their recent migratory movement from the interior towards Abyssinia and the coast. They call themselves *Orma*, or *Oroma*, meaning strong or brave men. Dr. Krapf says that "it is certain that on their first appearance in Abyssinia they were a wild and warlike people who, united, might have conquered all Africa."*

They all ride on horseback, and are armed with spears, swords, and shields. They practise agriculture, and possess herds of grazing animals. In their religious ideas they are far in advance of the distinctive African races. They possess priests, and have definite ideas of a heaven and a hell Dr. Krapf says: "They certainly have more expanded and purer ideas of religion than the other heathen tribes of Eastern Africa."† The serpent is one of their main objects of worship, regarding this animal, as they do, as the mother of the human race. "Now, as serpent worship was a prominent feature of the old Ethiopian creed, the religious conceptions of Ormas are connected with ancient Ethiopia."‡

Others of their customs resembled those of the early Asiatics, and all the evidence goes to show that they are descended from some race of Asiatic colonists, probably the Ethiopians. "The people of Arabia have been accustomed to traverse Africa in every direction, from ages of which neither history nor tradition can make any report. They are found everywhere, east, west, north, and south; usually as traders, ready to deal in slaves or in anything else that gives a hope of profit, but frequently as a part of the settled population. To other peoples the interior of Africa has for ages been an unknown region, a land of mystery, of which nothing could be told beyond some Arabian notices of its geography. The only reasonable explanation of this extensive and long-continued intercourse of the Arabians with the interior countries of

* Travels and Researches, p. 61. † Travels and Researches, p. 66.
‡ Travels and Researches, p. 67.

Africa is that which assumes that it was established by the ancient Cushite occupation, and has never been discontinued."*

Dr. Barsh states that not less than 250,000 Arabians were settled in Bornou when he visited that kingdom, and that this Arab population appeared to have come from the east at a very early period. It seems probable, then, that the lake region of eastern Africa was occupied at an early date by Arabians, who carried their influence as far west as Soudan, and from whom came the descriptions of the sources of the Nile, and of the Mountains of the Moon, which remain from so remote a period. Arabian traditions claim that ancient kings of Arabia marched armies through Africa to the ocean, and carried on wars with Magrib, or Mauretania. In support of this we have a statement of Strabo, in his first book. "It is mentioned as a tradition among the people of Tartessus that the Ethiopians once traversed the regions of Africa quite to its western limits, and that some of them came and settled at Tartessus." This Tartessus was a very ancient Phœnician city of southern Spain, probably the Tarshish of the Scriptures.

These indications of an ancient civilized possession of Africa are supplemented by indubitable remains of civilized arts and customs yet found in many parts of the continent. Arts are possessed by the natives of Africa utterly beyond the grasp of savages, and not found in races much more civilized. It needs a degree of enlightenment far above that now found in Africa to originate the arts of smelting ores and working metals. The ability to smelt and forge iron, in particular, is accounted as one of the incontestable evidences of civilization, and was not possessed by many nations of antiquity that otherwise ranked high. Yet this art is in common use in many parts of Africa. Of the region near Lake Nyassa, Dr. Livingstone says: "At every third or fourth village we saw a kiln-looking structure, about six feet high and two and a half and three feet in diameter. It is a clay, fire-hardened furnace for smelting iron. No flux is used, whether the specular iron, the yellow hæmatite, or magnetic

* Prehistoric Nations, p. 324.

iron ore is fused, and yet capital metal is produced. Native manufactured iron is so good that the natives declare English iron rotten in comparison; and specimens of African hoes were pronounced at Birmingham to be nearly equal to the best Swedish iron." *

Dr. Barth reports the prevalence of this art in Central Africa. He found those smelting furnaces common in Soudan. We are also told by the various travellers who have explored the sources of the Nile, that the natives display remarkable skill in blacksmithing and other civilized arts. Dr. Livingstone, in his "Expedition to the Zambezi," found the natives to manufacture hammers, tongs, hoes, adzes, fish hooks, needles, and other implements. Their skill in spinning and weaving and in the manufacture of pottery, excited his admiration. He found them to possess admirably made fishing nets, similar to those now used in Normandy, a blacksmith bellows like that used in India, fish baskets and weirs like those used in the Scottish Highlands, and various other implements resembling those employed by civilized nations.

Numerous evidences of an ancient civilization were found by Dr. Barth and other explorers in central Africa. The extensive region of Soudan possesses a very effective political organization, and an active condition of trade and manufacture. In many districts the manufacture of cotton and grass cloths, very fine leather work, and metal tools, is carried on to a considerable extent. There are some cities, as that of Kano,—controlled by the Fulan tribe of the brown race,—where manufactures and commerce flourish, finding a market as far away as the Mediterranean cities.

Dr. Barth found important kingdoms still organized, whose history reaches back nearly to the beginning of the Christian era, and whose origin is probably much more remote. It is also known that the civilization of these kingdoms has long been in a state of retrogression. In Ghasr-eggomo, the ancient capital of Bornou, the ruins of the principal buildings are of

* Expedition to Zambezi, p. 536.

brick. But "in the present capital not the smallest approach is made to this more solid mode of architecture."* Dr. Barth continues: "It cannot be doubted that the old capital contained a great deal of barbaric magnificence, and even a certain degree of civilization, much more than is at present found in the country. It is certainly a spectacle not devoid of interest to imagine, in this tour of Negroland, a splendid court, with a considerable number of learned and intelligent men gathering around their sovereign, and a priest writing down the glorious achievements of his master."†

Written chronicles of this ancient African court are said to still exist, despite the efforts of conquering tribes to destroy them. Dr. Barth says: "Books containing a comprehensive history of the kingdom of Ratsena have been destroyed intentionally by the Fulbe or the Fulans since their conquest of the country."‡ Traditions claim that this kingdom of Bornou was created by the Himyarite kings of Arabia. There are records which state that Selma, the first black king of Bornou, began his reign in the year 1194 A.D., many centuries after the kingdom was founded.

"That the central countries of Africa were occupied or controlled in ancient times by a civilized white race is shown by the physiological peculiarities of the present inhabitants. The people of these countries present everywhere a remarkable mixture of races. The blood of the original brown race, with its fine forms, long, curling hair, and dark olive complexion, predominates in this mixture and sometimes it is found nearly pure. Traces of white blood in the African people, more or less distinct, are found everywhere away from the western coast."§

Dr. Barth says of the inhabitants of a village in Adamwa: "I was struck by the symmetry and beauty of their forms, and the regularity of their features; but I was still more astonished at their complexion, which was different in different individuals, it being in some of a glossy black, and in others of a light copper."‖ Dr. Livingstone, speaking of the tribes

---

* Travels, and Discoveries, vol. 4, p. 23. † Travels and Discoveries, vol. 4, p. 24. ‡ Travels and Discoveries, vol. 2, p. 75. § Prehistoric Nations, p. 330. ‖ Travels and Discoveries, vol. 2, p. 414.

farther south, says, that the true type of the African people "is not that found on the west coast, from which most people have derived their ideas of the Africans."* He says of a Maganja chief: "He has a Jewish cast of face, or rather the ancient Assyrian face, as seen in the monuments brought home by Mr. Layard. This face is very common in this country. The majority of the heads here are as well shaped as those depicted in the ancient Assyrian and Egyptian mouments."† So Mr. Burton, describing the tribes near the Nyanzi lakes, says of the Wagogo: "Many of them are as fair as Abyssinians,"‡ and describes the Watosi as "tall, comely, and comparatively fair."§

These various evidences, from the most widely separated districts of Africa, go far to show that, if the negro is the original African race, he has at a very remote period been dispossessed by a race of olive-colored immigrants, perhaps of Malay extraction. This brown race, greatly modified by an infusion of negro blood, has possessed itself of the greater portion of the country, the principal remaining communities of the aboriginal inhabitants being on the western coast, where they would naturally be driven.

At some far subsequent period white immigrants, apparently of Arabian extraction, have established kingdoms in Africa, some of which, as in Abyssinia, still remain; while in the more interior kingdoms the whites as a distinct race have disappeared, but have left strong marks of their physical characteristics on the present inhabitants. "At the present time, the most numerous and powerful people in Central Africa, south of the region occupied by the Berbers, are the Fuláns, a people remarkable there for their intelligence, skill, and restless ambition. Their influence is already established at many of the more important points, from Senegambia to the Nile, near the western border of Abyssinia, and especially in Soudan. They seem likely to become supreme in all the central countries. The Fuláns, on account of their

* Expedition to Zambezi, p. 501.
† Expedition to Zambezi, p. 501.
‡ Lake Regions, p. 212.
§ Lake Regions, p. 398.

prominence and importance, have been an object of much speculation. One or two writers have assumed that they were not originally an African people."*

M. Eichwaldt attempted in the *Journal de la Société Ethnologique* for 1841, to connect them with the Malays, by way of Meroï. Dr. Barth says of them: "No doubt they are the most intelligent of all the African tribes, although in bodily development they cannot be said to exhibit the most perfect specimens. It is their superior intelligence that gives their chief expression to the Fúlbe."† He continues: "I myself am of opinion that their origin is to be sought in the direction of the east; but this refers to an age which, for us, is enveloped in impenetrable darkness."‡

Looking further north, to the region of the Sahara, we find it inhabited by a people in many respects remarkable. These Berbers are of white origin, and may be the only pure remains of the kingdom of whites which, at a remote epoch, seems to have extended far south of the borders of the desert. They are yet found as far south as the southern border of the Sahara, and are said to have founded the kingdom of Bornou, and the city of Timbuctoo. They possess a considerable degree of civilization, which, to all appearance, has been retained since their original settlement in this region. They have cities, farming industy, political organization, and many useful arts. Reading and writing are generally practised. The Arabic alphabet is used by most of the tribes, but the Touaricks, the most numerous of the Berber tribes, have an alphabet of their own, very ancient according to their claim, and have also considerable native literature. In the *Journal Asiatique* for May, 1847, Mr. Boissonnet gave an impression of the character of the Touarick alphabet, showing it to be nearly identical with the later Phœnician characters. Modern writers have been surprised at the condition of the desert tribes. Captain G. F. Lyon speaks of the Touaricks: "They are the finest race of men I ever saw, tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride that

* Prehistoric Nations, p. 382. † Travels and Discoveries, vol. 4, p. 143.
‡ Travels and Discoveries, vol. 4, p. 149.

is very imposing. They are generally white, that is to say, comparatively so, the dark brown of their complexion being occasioned only by the heat of the climate. Their arms and bodies where constantly covered, are as white as those of many Europeans."

An Arab writer of the thirteenth century, Ebn-ed-din El Eghwaati, in his "Notes of a Journey," gives a similar account: "The Touaricks are a very powerful people, of very white complexions. They wear pantaloons like Christians." The McZab tribe have cities, of which Ghardaïa, the capital, has 13,000 inhabitants. This city is very old, having near it the ruins of its more ancient progenitor. They told Mr. H. B. Tristam that "their nation came hither from Moroco, to which place their ancestors immigrated from Egypt, or south of Egypt. But their imauns knew all their story, and it is written in their sacred books, which are preserved in manuscripts at Ghardaïa."* Speaking of his departure from the city of Beni-Isguen, he says: "When we were about to depart, the djèmmâa requested our names and addresses, as they have a register containing all the events of the city, and a record of its visitors for nine hundred years. The book was produced.†"

"The McZabs are not the only Berbers who have books and manuscripts. It is probable that all or nearly all the tribes have annals and other literary records like those preserved at Ghardaïa, for they all read and write. The Touaricks appear to be the most cultivated branch of the family; their literature has attracted the attention of French officers in Africa. When it can be explored carefully, important historical records may be discovered, although it is nowise likely that much relating to their ancient history has been preserved." ‡

We have here, then, in these inhabitants of the Sahara (which is not nearly so much a desert as we are accustomed to regard it), the remains of a very antique people, who probably in early times possessed dominion over a large portion of central Africa, but are now only represented by these Saharan tribes. Their language and institutions plainly affiliate them

* Wanderings south of Atlas, p. 131. † Wanderings south of Atlas, p. 169.
‡ Prehistoric Nations, p. 343.

with the people of southwestern Asia, and they may possibly be the only remaining representatives of that great Ethiopian empire, of which ancient tradition preserves such glowing accounts. Their name may possibly show their original seat to have been Nubia, called Barbara in the Sanscrit Puranas. If so, they may yield us evidence of the condition and customs of that remote people, whose peculiar civilization may be signified in the political organization, the language and literature, the advanced condition of agriculture, and the various civilized arts, possessed by these desert tribes, so long shut out from the disturbing influences of modern civilization.

North of the Sahara, in the fertile districts of northern Africa, there appear to have been civilized states long previous to any reliable history of this region. The old myths of Atlas and the Atlantides, of the westward voyage of Hercules, etc., hint at a civilized occupation of Spain and northwestern Africa at a very remote epoch. The legends connecting Hercules, Hyperion, Atlas, Saturn, and other mythological characters with these western regions evidently refer to the most ancient times. The Egyptian record concerning the Atlantic island as given to Solon, and other very ancient legends, seem to hint a prehistoric civilization in this region. They told him that in the remotest times there was in the Atlantic, over against the Pillars of Hercules, an island larger than Libya and Asia put together. The people of this island were wealthy and highly civilized, and "extended their empire to all the country as far as Egypt and Tyrrhenia," and that once "a mighty, warlike power, rushing from the Atlantic Sea, spread itself with hostile fury over Europe and Asia." These legends apparently are traditions of an enterprising people who in remote times inhabited northwestern Africa.

At a later period the Phœnicians appeared in this region, and made various settlements along the coast. About 1100 years B.C. the Tyrians built the city of Gades, on the coast of Spain, which still exists as the modern Cadiz. It was built near the older city of Erythia, which is connected with the mythical story of Hercules and Geryon. North of it, on an island at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, was the ancient

city of Tartessus, which had already utterly disappeared in the time of Strabo. These cities were noted for their maritime energy. Strabo praises Gades for the number and size of its ships; and if we may suppose Tartessus to be the Hebrew Tarshish, we have scriptural authority for its commerce and the daring energy of its sailors. These cities probably did much towards African discovery, their ships collecting merchandise from the western coast of Africa, and finding their market in the Mediterranean cities of Asia.

The early Irish records refer to the same probable fact of an early African civilization. The Formorians, the oldest people mentioned in Ireland, are said by all the traditions to have come from Africa. It is said that they had powerful fleets and were possessed of great maritime enterprise. In one of their battles with later invaders, Morc, the Formorian leader, is said to have had a fleet of sixty ships, and a strong army. At a much later period the declining Tyrian power built Carthage, which subsequently rose to an importance quite overshadowing its parent city. There is reason, however, to believe that the historical Carthage was built on the site of a much more ancient city, one of the early Phœnician colonies, only rising to importance after the flight thither of the wealth of Tyre from the overshadowing Assyrian aggressions.

During this period of Tyrian supremacy, northern Africa was possessed of many flourishing cities, and of an active condition of commerce and agriculture. Recently the ruins of some very ancient cities have been found there. Mr. N. Davis, in his "Ruined cities of Africa," gives interesting accounts of many of these, and refers to others which have not yet been visited. Leo Africanus decribes the old city of Moroco, or Margrib, as a "huge and mighty city," and says it had "Four and twenty gates and a wall of great strength and thickness." It was celebrated for its magnificent temples and schools of learning. He speaks of "nearly an hundred booksellers' shops" under the porch of one temple, "and as many on the other side," though in his time there was not one bookseller in the city. Not until this country shall have been thoroughly explored can all the remaining secrets of its early civilizations

be made known. Little more than a year ago the ruins of a very ancient town were discovered and described, and it may be that the remains of many ruined cities of the remote past lie hidden in the interior country, so long concealed by Mahommedan intolerance from the footsteps of discovery.

When the Portuguese sailed around the southern cape of Africa it was hailed as an unprecedented feat, and until a very late period they have been generally considered as the first among civilized nations to discover the fact that this unknown continent could be circumnavigated, and to make known to the world this oceanic path to the mysterious East. Yet it is now known that at this very period maps and documents were in existence, describing the southern and southwestern portions of the African continent. These were drawn from Arabian sources, this people having an accurate knowledge of the African coast before the explorations of Bartholomew Dioz and Vasquez di Gama. What is now known as the Cape of Good Hope is described by them as Cape Diab, or Dsiab in Arabic. It seems also to have been called Cape Agisymba, according to the testimony of Ferdinand Columbus. Humboldt speaks of these evidences as follows:

"Long temps avant Bartholemé Diaz et Vasco de Gama, nous voyons l'extrémité triangulaire de l'Afrique représentée dans le planisphére de Sanuto, de 1306, annexé au *Secreta fidelium Crucis*, et publié par Bongars; dans la *Portulano della Mediceo Laurenziana*, de 1351, ouvrage génois, que le Comte Baldelli a fait connaître; dans le *Planisferio de la Palatina*, de Florence, de 1417, discute par le Cardinal Zurla; et surtout dans le fameuse mappemonde de Fra Mauro, tracée dans les années 1457 et 1459. C'est cette dernière carte surtout, anterieure de quarante ans à la circumnavigation de Vasco de Gama, qui offre, avec le plus grande clarté, le promontoire de l'Afrique australe sous le nom de *Capo di Diab*." *

That the Arabians were equally familiar with Eastern Africa we know from the narratives of the Portuguese explorers. They found in that region two important kingdoms, Quilva and Monomotapa, so rich and flourishing as to excite

* Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Geographie du Nouveau Continent, vol. 1.

their admiration. Between these kingdoms and the coast of India there was constant commercial intercourse. Di Gama found in Mozambique, cities not inferior to those of Portugal. A narrative of the voyage says of Melinda, one of these cities: "The city was large, with handsome streets, and houses built of stone, several stories high, with terraces on top." He found in the harbors of these cities many ships quite equal to his own, and that the Arabian navigators used the mariners' compass, the astrolabe, and other nautical and astronomical instruments. These cities and kingdoms have utterly disappeared. The military vigor of the Portuguese enabled them to possess the coast, and ruin has followed in the track of their occupation, so that barbarism has taken the place of the civilized activity found there in 1498.

But a knowledge of the configuration of the African coast was possessed in times far more remote than these, and we have records of its circumnavigation many centuries before the Christian era. Humboldt, in the work already cited, says that the later opinions of antiquity relative to this circumnavigation were much more incorrect than those of preceding ages: "Chez les anciens les opinions récentes sont souvent moins justes que plusieurs de celles qui les avaient précédées."

"About the year 600 B. C., Necho II., an enterprising king of Egypt, fitted out an expedition, which he ordered to sail down the Red Sea, go round Africa, and return to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. He knew very well that such a voyage was possible. The same knowledge existed among the Persians, when Sataspes, one of the Achæmenidæ, guilty of a great crime, was offered escape from capital punishment if he would sail round Africa in the opposite direction, but lacked resolution to complete the voyage. Herodotus, who gives a particular account of the successful expedition sent out by Necho, adds that the Carthaginians knew that Africa was surrounded by the ocean, and could therefore be circumnavigated." *

Several Carthaginian expeditions were sent out, with the probable motive of recovering the ancient Phœnician commerce with the African coast. Pliny mentions one of these

---

* Prehistoric Nations, p. 346.

expeditions, commanded by another Hanno, who sailed from the Mediterranean to Arabia, and wrote an account of his voyage. We have the "Periplus" of yet another Hanno who made an extensive voyage along the west coast.

Posidorius describes the voyages of Eudoxus of Cyzicus, who explored the exterior coast of Africa with great enthusiasm, and relates that he found on the eastern coast remains of the wreck of a ship from Gades. This wreck goes to show that the Phœnician colonists were in the habit of making commercial voyages round this continent, and had probably done so for many centuries before the period of the Egyptian and Carthaginian expeditions. Probably the Assyrian invasions, which destroyed the independence of the ancient Phœnician cities, interrupted this commerce with the African coast, so that when it was renewed at a later period by the expeditions above mentioned, they had but traditional accounts of the former Phœnician enterprise as the basis of their confidence in the feasibility of their project.

Ancient testimony remains to the effect, that the Tyrians had settlements on the Atlantic coast of Africa, consisting of not less than three hundred cities. These are stated to have been destroyed by the Pharusii and the Nigritæ.

The name of Africa anciently signified "the West," much as we now designate Asia "the East." The word "Ophir," as used in the Hebrew Scriptures, is probably synonymous with Africa. Wilford says, in the eighth volume of "Asiatic Researches:" "In Scripture, Parvain and Ophir mean countries at the east and at the west; but these terms are not deducible from the Hebrew. Apar and Aparica are the same as Ophir, Aphar, and Africa." Bishop Lowth in the same manner derives Africa from Ophir. This word was used anciently to describe Mauretania, Spain, and the other countries on the Atlantic, under the general idea of "the west."

Rev. Dr. Krapf and others have supposed that the Scriptural Ophir might have referred to the eastern African coast, and Max Müller seeks to locate it in India. But this etymology of the word makes it seem probable that it may have been a region on the eastern coast of Africa. The ships of Hiram

may have made their voyages to the coast of Guinea, where gold and ivory were abundant, and may have gone thither both by way of the Red Sea and the Straits of Gibraltar. The statement that "the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram; every three years once came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks"* (or possibly, Guinea fowl), seems certainly to agree with the above location of Ophir, if we may suppose Tarshish to be identical with Tartessus, as the long intervals between the voyages gives us some reason to believe.

We have, in the preceding pages, given a hasty summary of the little that is known of the great continent of Africa,; whose history and geography yet remain, in great part, hidden from the eye of investigation, or yielded to us in fragments which cannot yet be put together into coherent form. A peculiar vagueness rests upon the whole of our knowledge of this continent, from which emerge a few reliable items of truth, like clear peaks out of a land of fog. Principally we have to deal with probabilities, and dim traditions, and supplement our few facts with such probable conjectures as seem most like the truth.

The energy of modern travel is rapidly dispelling the mystery that has so long hung over its geographical outlines and the character of its inhabitants and productions. Investigation may yet yield us clearer ideas of the origin and affiliations of these races, and throw more light upon its ancient history. But the latter must, in great measure, remain ever enveloped in mystery. We think the evidences adduced plainly show that a degree of civilization formerly obtained in this continent, far greater than any now existing in its interior districts, and that they give us some hint as to the orgin of this civilization. Beyond this we know almost nothing, and probably never will much increase our information upon these points.

---

* 2 Chron. ix., 21,

ART. VI.—1. *Publications of the Narragansett Club* (First Series), 4 vols. Providence, R. I. 1866–70.

2. *Historical Collections of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.* Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

3. *Encyclopedia of American Literature, embracing personal and critical Notices of Authors and Selections from their writings, etc.* By EVERT A. DUYCKINCK and GEO. L. DUYCKINCK. 2 Vols. New York.

IT was long a reproach to this country that it had no distinctive literature—nothing characteristic of life and nature here. Mr. Jefferson, in answer to a stricture of this kind, remarked, that when America should have endured as long as Greece before it produced a Homer, or England a Shakspeare, if then we had no prominent writer, it might be ground for invidious reflection. The observation was regarded as just, yet it is not altogether so. America was, in fact, only a portion of England and of other European countries transplanted to another soil, and attempting a new and unaccustomed life All of English literature was ours. We had the language of Shakspeare and Milton, and the models which centuries had accumulated. Our position resembles that of the Byzantine empire, which had the benefit of the learning, literature, and civilization, with much of the wealth, of Greece and Rome. Yet the realm founded by Constantine did not prove enduring, for its inheritance included the materials of disease as well as of prosperity.* We, too, have inherited good and evil from our European progenitors; we may hope that with truer principles of government we may attain a more vigorous life, and perpetuate rather than destroy the prosperity of the old world. If civilization decays in and through this republic, it will be because of our materialism, which is the curse of the age, and especially of this country. There is some leaven of learning and taste among us, and one may hope it will increase, and in time change the entire character of the body politic.

* See De Gobineau, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines.*

Although our forefathers had not a new literature to found, we must remember that the nature of their enterprise was not favorable to the cultivation of letters. To provide for their material wants absorbed the greater portion of their time and energy. Then, the heterogeneous character of our national materials must be taken into the account. There were half a dozen different nationalities represented among the early settlers of this part of the continent, speaking different tongues, and requiring considerable time to be brought into any degree of harmony in feeling or language. From these crude materials and peculiar circumstances it required time to develop even a national sentiment. That there was so much creditable literary production as there was, is rather a matter of wonder.

Our forefathers brought with them the habits and tastes of their several orders abroad. In New England, which produced the greater amount of our colonial literature, there was more community of feeling than elsewhere. As it was for religious reasons that the Puritans sought a home on this continent, we should expect that their writings would partake chiefly of a controversial and theological character. The differences which divided sects in the old country and which drove these malcontents across the water, would naturally find expression where freedom of speech was accorded. In New England, also, was found in greatest numbers the only class who by their occupation were permitted to cultivate learning and letters. A few of the Puritan clergy were educated men, and brought with them much of the learning with some of the literary tastes of England. Yet they were here, as on the other side of the ocean, chiefly interested in polemical theology, and cared little for the graces of style, regarding such culture, indeed, as but vanity.

The settlers of Virginia comprised more of the English gentry to whom we should look for evidences of higher and more generous culture. Yet they were not given to literary production, however appreciative they may have been. They were generally content to import their books, with most articles of luxury, from England, and to be employed chiefly in arrang-

ing their estates, founding families and establishing manors which should recall those of their former home.

In the writings of these early American times the careful student will discern a few of the germs of what is most characteristic and national in our modern literature, and what gives promise of something yet more distinctive than we have yet attained to. To understand what we are and may be, as well as what we have been, the colonial writers must be thoroughly studied. For themselves, there is not much that is interesting in these productions, yet there are many works that are valuable for history, several that are creditable for thought, and a few that are tolerable as regards style. The writings of a few of the men of that period have had an influence upon the world outside of America, as those of Roger Williams, Edwards, and especially those of Franklin, justly regarded every where as a great thinker.

The colonial era is noteworthy for the establishment of some of our best institutions of learning. From these emanated what classical erudition there was in the country that was not imported from England. After the colonists got established here, there was little of a public nature to excite intellectual activity, except religious controversies, to which, the puritanic mind was ever prone. The breaking out of the revolutionary war gave a new impetus to mental action, and turned it into different channels, so that the period following the war with England exhibited much more vigor.* The political life of the country before the war was comparatively tame. When independent thought and action were assumed it developed greater intellectual activity with a sense of independence, though it was still—and yet is—far from being literary in the highest signification.

There are very few writers of the colonial era who are deserving of mention for their own merits, but many whose

*Dr. Benjamin Rush writes, in 1799: "From a strict attention to the state of mind in this country, before the year 1774, and at the present time, I am satisfied that the ratio of intellect is as twenty to one, and of knowledge as one hundred to one in these States, compared with what they were before the American Revolution."

names and works are landmarks of progress. The first literary work performed in America worthy of notice was a translation of the Metamorphoses of Ovid, by George Sandys, which was published in London in 1626. He was employed as treasurer of the Virginia company, and executed his version on the banks of the James River, to beguile the tedium of his stay in that wild country. He was a man of scholarly tastes, and his translation is a very good one. Dryden eulogized his work, pronouncing him the best versifier of the age. William Morrell, an English clergyman, came to Massachusetts in 1623, and while there wrote a work, in Latin hexameters and English heroics, afterwards published in England, entitled "Nova Anglia." There is nothing remarkable about this book, though it gave some information, doubtless interesting, to the English people of that day. Another account of Massachusetts, published soon after, was "New England's Prospect," by William Ward. It contains some descriptive verses, a few passages in which are tolerable. "Good News From New England," the greater part of which is in verse, was published in 1648.

The heroic adventurer, Captain John Smith, the tale of whose vicissitudes is the delight of every American youth, published several works giving an account of his travels. The first is "A true relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath happened in Virginia since the first planting of the colony, which is now resident in the south part thereof, till the last return from thence," London, 1608. Following this were "A Map of Virginia, with Description of the Country," "A Description of New England," "New England's Trials," "The General History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles;" which includes an account of Pocahontas, and the incident which has made her name historical. A more comprehensive work was the "True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, from A. D. 1593 to 1629 together with a Continuation of his General History of Virginia, etc.," folio, London, 1630. His last work was, "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere, or the Pathway to Experience to erect a Plantation." The style of Captain Smith is simple

and plain, often quaint. He wrote to give information, and had no desire to display learning or literary ability. His works have considerable value as historical records. He cared little for the beauties of nature, and relates what he saw and did without any capacity to infuse more romance than the simple facts, from their nature, ex traordinary as many of them were, would suggest. With all the interest that attaches to the career of Smith, there was probably no great amount of romance in his composition; if there was, he lacked the ability to give it expression.

The explorations and settlements of the Spaniards in Florida, and of the French in Louisiana, brought out a number of publications in those languages, the most of which are not accessible to the American reader. The stories of Ponce de Leon, of Cordova, and Ayllon, all of whom met their death in Florida and others, have been told by their countrymen, and some of the adventurers have left narratives which properly belong to the literature of the country. De Vaca, the survivor and successor of the ill-fated Narvaez, wrote a narrative of his trip from Florida to the Gulf of California, which reads like a romance. It may be found in Spanish, in Barcia's collection, and in French in the collection of Ternaux-Compans. Friar Mark, who went on an expedition from Mexico to the Colorado rivers, wrote an account of his journey which is exceedingly interesting, but much of it cannot be credited.*

The wanderings of De Soto furnished material for exciting narratives, which his countrymen have improved. Biedman's narrative, and that of the gentleman of Elvas, belong to this period.†

There are also accounts of the disastrous expeditions of Don Tristan de Luna, to Florida in 1557, and of the fatal journey of the Catholic missionaries to New Mexico in 1580.‡ Benavide's *Memorial*, published in 1630, gives an account of the

* See the appendix to the narative of Castañedo de Najera, published by Ternaux.

† See Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. ii. ‡ See *Ensayo Chronologio.*

explorations of the Portuguese Captain, Vincent Gonzalez, in the Mississippi valley.

The explorations and missionary labors of the French Jesuits deserve a more admiring recognition than they usually receive from the descendants of the Puritans. Their heroic and self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of civilization in the new world merit the highest praise. They were the discoverers and explorers of the greater part of the continent, and their narratives are full of interest. Most of these are to be found in the "Jesuit Relations." The narratives of Fathers Marquette and Dablon are interesting in themselves, and are especially attractive when we take into account the character of the men whose deeds they chronicle. Father Lewis Hennepin published two works on the Mississippi country. The first was entitled "Description de la Louisiane, Paris," 1684. The second "Nouvelle description d'un très grand Pays situé dans l'Amerique, etc.," was published at Utrecht, in 1697. Little credence is usually given to this writer, who seems to have been vain and unreliable.* The "Memoir of Frontenac," is another work of interest.† The celebrated Lasalle, published at Paris, in 1681, an account of his voyage in the new world, entitled, "Description de la Louisiane." His career also brought out several works from other pens, as the "Etablissement de la Foi," by Father Le Clerq, 1691; "Dernieres Découvertes," de Tonty, 1697; "Journal Historique,", Jontel, 1713.

To return to New England, of whose literature we have the most complete records, Nathaniel Ward wrote, in 1645, a work on toleration entitled, "The simple Cobler of Agawam," a quaint and affected book. He also prepared a code of laws, which he called "Body of Liberties," which were adopted in 1641, and were the first New England statutes. John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts and founder of Boston, arrived at Salem in 1630. He left a MS. journal of the affairs of the colony, which was afterwards printed as a "History of New

* See the "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," by J. Gilmary Shea; New York, 1852.

† This may be found in the N. Y. Paris Doc., Vol. I.

England from 1630 to 1649." He was also the author of "A Model of Christian Charity," written on board the Arbella, on the Atlantic Ocean."*

In the year 1633, there came from England two clergymen who were destined to have no little influence in the young colony. These were Thomas Hooker and John Cotton. Hooker had been educated at Cambridge, and was a preacher of considerable power. He founded the City of Hartford, Connecticut. After his death his manuscript sermons were sent to England and one hundred of them were published. He wrote several tracts; a "Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline," "Application of Redemption," etc. He was evidently a very earnest and zealous man, but his writings are now only valuable as curiosities. The usual vein of puritanic theology runs through them; their style is vigorous and little graceful. He could be imaginative when painting the terrors of the sinner's hereafter, according to puritanic faith, as witness the following extract:

"And make but a peep-hole into hell, and lay your ear and listen to those yellings of the devils and the damned, cursing the day that ever they were born, the means that ever they enjoyed, the mercies that ever they did receive, the worm there gnawing and never dies, the fire there burning and never goes out, and know this sin hath done, and it will do so to all that love it and live in it." †

The Rev. John Cotton was a very influential man in his day, but of the writings he left the most valuable are those in relation to liberty of conscience, being elicited by the persecution of Roger Williams and his defense. Mr. Cotton had the misfortune to be on the wrong side in that memorable controversy, and he will be remembered as one of the apostles of intolerance. Nevertheless, he was a man of considerable learning, and a preacher of unquestionable zeal and honesty of purpose.‡

Roger Williams, who has been justly styled an apostle of

---

* See collections of Mass. Hist. Soc. The original MS. is in the New York Historical Society.

† *Application of Redemption.*

‡ Carlyle speaks of him as "A painful preacher, oracular of high gospels to New England; who in his day was well seen to be connected with the supreme powers of this universe."—*Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.*

civil and religious liberty, was born in Wales, probably in 1606; was educated at Oxford, and emigrated to Massachusetts in 1631. He was settled at Salem as a minister, where he was greatly admired and beloved by his flock. Having come to America to enjoy freedom of conscience he was not disposed to permit himself to be deprived of that liberty. He soon found, however, that the "freedom to worship God," accorded by the New England worthies meant merely the freedom to worship according to their belief. Some of his opinions upon the duties of magistrates, and respecting the administering of oaths to "profane persons," caused him to be summoned before the General Court of Boston, where he was tried and ordered to leave the Colony within six weeks. All the ministers of the court, with one exception, approved this harsh sentence. Williams, with a few followers, and assured of the friendship of the Indians, to whom he had shown himself kindly disposed, made a perilous and painful journey into Rhode Island, in the dead of winter, where he founded Providence. He established what was soon a flourishing colony, and strictly carried out his principles of toleration towards all religious sects. This was the first example the Christian world had seen of entire tolerance. Accordingly, it was regarded by all, save a very few, as an experiment which could not, in the nature of things, succeed, so little were the principles which are now generally accepted in this country then understood. "But these institutions," says the learned Gervinus, "have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole union. They have superseded the aristocratic commencements of Carolina and of New York, the high-church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massachusetts, and the monarchy throughout America; they have given laws to one quarter of the globe, and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe."*

Not less praiseworthy, perhaps more so because it was not provoked by opposition or adopted as a defensive principle, was the entire religious toleration accorded by Lord Baltimore

* *Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.* Lond. Ed. p. 65.

and the other Catholic founders of Maryland. No controversy was excited in this case, for there were no bigoted opponents to insist upon freedom for their own dogmas only; hence no works were published upon the subject, and it has attracted little attention. Yet the principle for which Williams battled was silently and unostentatiously conceded by the Maryland Catholics.

Before these principles were established in New England there was to be a fierce contest, extending over many years, and drawing into the opposing ranks the foremost men of the time.* In 1643, Mr. Williams embarked for England, and while at sea, prepared "A Key into the Language of America," which was printed on his arrival in London. This was an exposition of the Narragansett dialect, then chiefly prevalent among the Indians of New England. It did not profess to be a complete guide to the attainment of the language, but Mr. Williams says, "A little key may open a box where lies a bunch of keys." This book is a valuable one from an antiquarian point of view, but the language of the Narragansetts is now obsolete.†

During Mr. Williams' stay in England was published "A Letter of Mr. John Cotton's, Father of the Church in Boston, in New England, to Mr. Williams, a Preacher there." Mr. Cotton, in his second tract upon the same subject, declares that he did not know how this letter came to be published; that it was not done with his privity, though he sees no reason to retract any of its statements. His position will be understood from the following:

"And to speak freely what I think, were my soule in your soule's stead, I should thinke it a worke of mercy of God to banish me from the civill society of such a Common Wealth, when I could not injoy holy fellowship of any church of God amongst them without sin." (Page 2).

* "This principle, now so familiar and well-established, was, in all its applications, entirely at variance with the whole structure of society in the colony of Massachusetts; and every new assertion of it on the part of Mr. Williams, or of any of the doctrines which he had connected with it, was sure to lead him into new collision with the authorities." Prof. Gammell's *Life of Roger Williams*. p. 39.

† See Publications of the Narragansett Club.

Williams then published a pamphlet "Mr. Cotton's Letter lately printed, Examined and Answered," and his more elaborate work, "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience in a Conference between Truth and Peace." This was answered by Cotton in "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution made white in the Blood of the Lamb," which called forth a rejoinder by Williams entitled, "The Bloody Tenent, yet more bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lamb." In these two works the whole subject respecting liberty of conscience is thoroughly discussed. The two divines, while dealing each other very hard theological hits, yet profess considerable mutual personal regard. These treatises have no especial value now, except as monuments of a state of things existing in the past, and to show what a fierce warfare has been waged between the champions of freedom and intolerance. The name of Williams is deservedly held in reverence in this country for the broadness and liberality of his views, so much in advance of the times in which he lived, and of the people among whom he dwelt. Besides the works we have mentioned he published, in London, "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's," which made some bold hits at the English clergy, and "Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health." He seems to have made no claim to consistency of belief, but changed his views from time to time, in respect to dogmas, as light was given him.*

John Clarke, a friend of Williams, published in London, in 1652, "Ill News from New England," containing some vigorous expression, but in general the style is diffuse and the work is of little value. Samuel Gorton was another divine of the New England church militant. He got into trouble whereever he went, it would seem from a contentious spirit rather than from a love of truth, which impelled him to say unpalatable things. He was banished from one place to another, and finally was tried for heresy in Boston and expelled from the colony. He went to England where he published "Simplici-

* "In a few months he broke from the society, and declared at large the grounds and reason of it—that their baptism could not be right, because it was not administered by an apostle."—Fox's *New England Fire-brand Quenched*. Part II. p. 247.

tie's Defence against Seven-headed Policy," a quaint work, in which the reverend exile would convince us that if he had been more worldly he could have got along with less difficulty in the new world. He was also the author of some other works of a theological character.

The name of John Eliot is one which New England has reason to remember with admiration and gratitude. He spent the better part of his life as a missionary among the Indians, founded the town of Natick, and translated, first the New Testament, and then the remainder of the Bible into the language of the aborigines. Eliot's Indian Bible was the first copy of the scriptures printed in the colonies. He also prepared a catechism for the Indians, an Indian grammar, and a translation of Baxter's Call. In conjunction with Welde and Richard Mather, he prepared the Old Bay Psalm Book, which was published in 1640, and was the first work of the kind issued in America, and for a long time the regular New England textbook of psalmody. Eliot's labors were principally of a kind that leave no monuments for the observation of the present generation, as the language which he labored so diligently to acquire has passed out of use; yet he is deserving of the heartiest commendation for his philanthropic efforts among a class who were generally despised and too often persecuted by the pharisaical religionists of his day.

There are not many specimens of æsthetic literature of the colonial era, and of the few attempts made in that direction, scarcely any are worthy of attention except as curiosities. The Puritans, who produced the greater part of the writings of the age, regarded anything that appealed merely to the sense of the beautiful in man as unprofitable, if not ungodly. They had learned in the warfare with the Catholic church and the church of England to look upon religion as a matter of stern seriousness, and could not tolerate anything that had a tendency to render it sensuously attractive. Poetry and versification, except it might be a very literal and bald version of the psalms, for use in the churches, they regarded as vanity. One exception they seem to have made. In connection with death they could permit solemn elegiac strains, the occasion being one

that relieved the lines of any probable suggestion of pleasurable emotion. Consequently, among the writings of the period we find a great number of elegies, generally in commemoration of distinguished men, pious divines or well-beloved governors. It may not be amiss to give some few specimens of this kind of literature, as showing the sort of poetical stuff with which our forefathers consoled their devout souls. The following is from an elegy by Josias Winslow on Governor William Bradford:

"He's happy, happy thrice. unhappy we,
That still remain more changes here to see.
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From troubles hence in seas of joy to swim."

The following on John Wilson contains a sentiment that partly redeems its expression, which yet is superior to that of most of the poetry of the day. It is attributed to Jonathan Mitchell.

"Love was his life; he dy'd in love;
Love doth embalm his memory;
Love is his bliss and joy above
With God now who is love for ay,
A comprehending charity.
To all, where aught appeared of good,
And yet in zeal was none more high
Against th' apparent serpent's brood."

The first volume of original poems published in New England was the work of Anne Bradstreet, a daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. Her first work was published in London in 1650, and was entitled, "The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America." It was a taking title, surely, although among the ancients the muse was usually fabled to *descend*, and one coming from the other direction could hardly be expected to compete successfully with the nine. The early New Englanders were quite proud of this muse of theirs. Perhaps her aristocratic family connections had something to do with her favorable reception; we should judge so from Cotton Mather's eulogy upon her.*

* We do not remember to have seen the fact noticed, probably it is because the modern women prophets and politicians are not given to antiquarian re-

Mistress Bradstreet appears to have been a good wholesome New England mother, dutiful and sensible, notwithstanding her cultivation of poetry. Her poetical effusions are quaint and homely, and not often musical, yet her verses contain much good sense and considerable information. A posthumous poem "In reference to her children," is not the most favorable specimen of her style, but it shows the homely nature of her talent.

"I had eight birds hatched in the nest,
Four cocks there were and hens the rest;
I nursed them up with pain and care,
For cost nor labor did I spare,
Till at the last they felt their wing,
Mounted the trees and learned to sing."

She is very fond of subjects of natural history, and gives such minute information as she possessed upon medicine, physiology, the four seasons, the ages of man, and similar practical topics. She is very exact, and omits no detail, whether poetical or not, with which she is acquainted, that belongs to her subject. She apparently believed it to be her duty to describe things exactly as they are; if some of their attributes are not poetic, it was not her fault; yet she had, evidently, an earnest love of nature, and some of her descriptions and reflections have a freshness that remind us of Chaucer.

"The primrose pale and azure violet
Among the verdurous grass hath nature set,
And when the sun (on's love) the earth doth shine
These might, as love, set out her garments fine.

"The fearful bird his little house now builds,
In trees and walls, in cities and in fields;
The outside strong, the inside warm and neat,
A natural artificer complete."

It must be said to the credit of Mistress Bradstreet, that she seldom deals with subjects that she does not understand, and that she treats her topics naturally and without affectation. Whatever she wrote was the result of her own experience; she

search; but we should suppose the circumstance that the first American poet was a woman, would be a source of satisfaction to the apostles of the new social order in our day.

left high-flown references to ancient mythology, and attempts to found Utopias to more pretentious poets. This is high praise, and we are not sure that she was not well qualified to be the mother of the race of American poets. If all her successors were as true to nature as they have found it, as she, this portion of our literature would be better than it is.

Michael Wrigglesworth, notwithstanding his name, was one of the most popular writers of his day. He wrote a poem entitled "The Day of Doom," a versified account of the day of judgment, and "Meat out of the Eater," several editions of which were published. These poems contain some good, plain sense, but are rude in versification. In the introduction to "The Day of Doom," he declares his intention to make no use of the heathen classical fables, which he deemed inconsistent with the character of a Christian. He was a scholarly man, a tutor in Harvard college, and pastor of the church in Melden. The following is from "Meat out of the Eater":

"O heaven, most holy place,
Which art our country dear!
Through fiery flames and water floods,
Through ways calamitous,
We travel towards heaven,
A quiet habitation.
Christ shows a kingdom there prepared
Ev'n from the world's foundation."

The Mather family held in their day, and have retained in public estimation, an honourable position among New Englanders. Increase Mather was for some time president of Harvard College, of which institution he was a graduate. At his death he left eighty-five publications, mostly sermons. His "Cases of Conscience Concerning Witchcraft" have a historical value. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. John Cotton, whose name he gave his son.

Cotton Mather was born at Boston in 1663. He was very precocious, and became one of the most learned men of his day. We are told that at the age of twelve years he had read Cicero, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, and the Greek Testament, and had commenced Socrates, Homer, and the Hebrew grammar. He says

of himself, "I am not unable, with a little study, to write in seven languages. I feast myself with the secrets of all the sciences which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to. I am entertained with all kinds of histories, ancient and modern. I am no stranger to the curiosities which by all sorts of learning are brought unto the curious. These intellectual pleasures are far beyond any sensual ones."*

His works, as enumerated by his son, number three hundred and eighty-two, and this does not comprise all.† They are mostly theological and historical treatises, though he wrote a few verses, and the "Psalterium Americanum," a very literal and prosy version of the Psalms of David in blank verse. He was especially active in persecuting the supposed witches in Salem, and his fair fame has greatly suffered from his connection with this business. His work, "Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft," published in 1689, had much to do in kindling the flame of superstition which resulted in the execution of twenty persons in Salem in 1692. His "Wonders of the Invisible World; being an Account of the Trial of several Witches lately executed in New England," was published in 1693, and fully sustained these disgraceful proceedings. The following, from the "Wonders of the Invisible World," shows his belief in those manifestations: we give the original italics and capitals:

"But now there is a more than ordinary *affliction* with which the *Devil* is Galling of us; and such an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confessed by Witches, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together amount unto the account of our Affliction. The *Devil*, Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, forward, ignorant, envious, and malicious creatures, to list themselves in his horrid Service, by entering their Names in a book, by him tendered unto them. These Witches, whereof above a Score have now *Confessed, and shown their Deeds*, and some are now tormented by the Devils for *confessing*, have met in Hellish *Rendezvous*, wherein the Confessors do say, they have have had their diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of our Lord."

* Life by Samuel Mather, p. 31.

† *Duyckink's Cyclopedia.*

Mather's most important work, and one which is still read, not only as a curiosity, but as a valuable depository of historical information, was entitled "Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England; from its first planting in the year 1620, unto the year of our Lord 1698." It consists of seven books, of which the first contains antiquities; the second, lives of the governors and names of the magistrates; the third, the lives of sixty New England divines; the fourth, an account of the University of Cambridge; the fifth, "acts and monuments of the faith and order in the churches of New England, passed in their synods;" the sixth, "a faithful record of many illustrious wonderful providences both of mercies and judgments on divers persons;" the seventh, the "wars of the Lord, being an history of the manifold afflictions and disturbances of the churches in New England, with an appendix 'of remarkable occurrences which New England had in the wars with the Indian salvages, from the year 1688 to the year 1698.'"

Much of the work is devoted to biography, the lives of more than eighty persons being narrated. Mather might well be called a sensational writer, as he relates so many wonderful providences, all of which, unquestionably, he devoutly believed. The sixth book is especially curious in this particular. The third chapter is entitled "Ceraunius; relating remarkables done by thunder." The style of the work is generally crude, but there are some quaint fancies, of which, indeed, he was over fond. When the pilgrims landed he says, "The *sun* was withdrawn into Sagittarius, whence he shot the penetrating *arrows* of *cold*, feathered with nothing but *snow*, and pointed with *hail*."* Giving the reason why Cape Cod is so called, he adds, "a name which, I suppose, it will never lose till shoals of *codfish* be seen swimming upon the top of its highest hills."†

This learned divine must have had an extraordinary development of the sense of the wonderful. He believed whatever he heard, and one would think whatever he could imagine, pro-

* B. i, c. 2. † B. vii, c. 1.

vided it was sufficiently remarkable and startling. His book is largely composed of accounts of unusual occurrences, "salvations," and prognostications. In respect to facts that did not connect themselves in his mind with special manifestations of Providence, he seems to have been candid. He opens his account of the Indian wars in this manner:

"If Diodorus Siculus had never given it as a great rule of history, *historiæ primum studium, primariaque consideratio esse videtur, insoliti gravisque casus principio causas investigare*, yet my reader would have expected that I should *begin* the history of our war with an history of the occurrences and occasions which did *begin* the war. Now, reader, I am at the very first fallen upon a *difficult point*; and I am in danger of pulling a war upon myself, by endeavoring of thy satisfaction. In truth, I had rather be called a *coward*, then undertake myself to determine the *truth* in this matter."

Mather was a fair specimen of the New England divine of his day: credulous, bigoted, and intolerant, but withal zealous and conscientious according to the light he had.*

Benjamin Thompson, a schoolmaster and physician, was the author of "New England's Crisis," a poetical account of King Philip's war, and of some other poems. His versification is smooth and sometimes elegant, reminding the reader of Dryden and Pope. The following are the opening lines of the prologue to the Crisis.

"The times wherein old Pompion was a saint,
When men fared hardly, yet without complaint,
On vilest cates, the dainty Indian maze
Was eat with clamp-shells out of wooden trays,
Under thatched roofs without the cry of rent,
And the best sauce to every dish, content,
When flesh was food, and hairy skins made coats,
And men as well as birds had chirping notes,
When cimnels were accounted noble blood,
Among the tribes of common herbage food;

* "It would be curious to pass a month in the perusal of these three hundred and eighty works by Cotton Mather, of which not half-a-dozen have been reprinted since the Declaration of Independence, though they abound almost as much as old Burton's Anatomy in curious learning, and are frequently eloquent or ingenious."—*Westminster Review*, v. 57.

Of Ceres' bounty formed was many a knack,
Enough to fill poor Robin's Almanack.
These golden times (too fortunate to hold)
Were quickly sinned away for love of gold."

Thomas Makin, an usher in the Friends' Public Grammar School of Philadelphia, wrote two Latin poems, "Encomium Pennsylvaniæ," and "In Laudes Pennsylvaniæ Poema, seu descriptio Pennsylvaniæ." His description of the site of Philadelphia is very exact.

"Pulchra duos inter sita stat *Philadelphia* rivos;
Inter quos duo sunt millia longa viæ
Delawar hic major, *Sculkil* minor ille vocatur,
Indis et *Suevis* notus interque diu.
Ædibus ornatur multis urbs limite longo,
Quæ parva emicuit tempore magna brevi.
Hic plateas mensor spatiis delineat æquis,
Et domui recto est ordine juncta domus."

The Carolina settlers produced little literature except of a scientific and historic character. Thomas Ashe published in 1680, "Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of that Country," which has some historical value.* John Lawson, surveyor-general of North Carolina, wrote a diary which was published in 1708, under the title "A New Voyage to Carolina." The scientific and medical works of Drs. Lining, Chalmers and Garden, were of some service in their day. More valuable was the "Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands," by Mark Catesby. The edition of 1748 contains excellent plates. The Rev. Alexander Garden published some theological treatises which are not remarkable.

An interesting book is "The Redeemed Captive," by Rev. John Williams of Roxbury, a narrative of the captivity of himself and family among the French and Indians. Colonel Byro's account of an expedition to settle the boundaries between Virginia and North Carolina, is a neat, simple narrative, containing graphic descriptions of natural scenery, and some humorous touches.

James Logan, an Irishman, secretary to William Penn,

* See Carroll's Historical Collections of S. C.

and founder of the Loganian library of Philadelphia, was a man of learning and classical tastes. He translated Cicero's "De Senectute," adding notes which show critical judgment and scholarship. This was published by Franklin in 1744. Logan also translated Cato's Distichs into English verse. He left several manuscript translations, with ethical, philological and antiquarian treatises. "Poems on Several Occasions, by Aquila Rose," was published at Philadelphia in 1740, by a son of the deceased poet. The volume contains only twenty-six pages. The poems are well versified, and some passages are graceful, but, taken as a whole, the work is of little interest.

The man who—perhaps next to Dr. Franklin—is the most widely known and esteemed writer of this era, is Jonathan Edwards. This able divine was born in Connecticut in 1703. His intellect was precocious, and it is said that on his first entrance into Yale College, in his thirteenth year, he read Locke's Essay on the Understanding, and thoroughly mastered its reasoning.* He spent nearly two-thirds of his time in study, and graduated with the highest honors, but remained in the college two years longer to study divinity. In his nineteenth year he was pastor of a Presbyterian church in the city of New York. Before he was twenty he drew up a series of resolutions, seventy in number, as his rules and principles of life. They indicate a mind of uncommon maturity, and admirable purity of character, but they also give evidence of what would now be considered narrowness of views, which was due to his puritan training. The fifty-first resolution reads, "That I will act so, in every respect, as I think I shall wish I had done, if I should at last be damned."†

In 1726, he was settled in Northampton, Mass, where he married and wrote his "Treatise on the Religious Affections." After twenty-three years of labor at this place he was dismissed for some peculiar opinions regarding the communion. He was then settled at Stockbridge as a minister and missionary to the Indians, and wrote his celebrated work, "A careful and strict

* Life by Sereno E. Dwight. † See Life, by Dwight.

Inquiry into the modern prevailing Notions of that Freedom of the Will which is supposed to be essential to moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame." This is a metaphysico-theological work, after the fashion of the day, and was written in support of the doctrines of Calvin. The proposition maintained is to the effect that while men continue to act as though they were free, yet they are, nevertheless, bound by irrefragable laws of necessity.*

Edwards' logic is clear and acute. He was a profound thinker, and his treatise on the will has had a very wide influence, and is still regarded by many theologians as a masterpiece. His style is not graceful; he cared more for effectiveness than beauty of expression. Yet from his nature he might have been one of the ablest æsthetical writers had he not been so entirely absorbed in theology. In character he was very earnest and zealous, with an amiability and delicacy that made him generally beloved. He was an effective preacher, not sensational, but enchaining his hearers by his earnestness and logic.† His works in the Worcester edition of 1808, comprise eight volumes, 8vo. Besides the treatise we have mentioned, there is nothing especially noteworthy.‡

The most of the writings of Benjamin Franklin belong to this era, but he is too great a man to be treated in a paragraph or a page, and merits better at our hands than to be catalogued with the imbeciles who make up the mass of the colonial writers.

---

* It is a conclusion to which our modern socialist philosophers have at length almost universally arrived, though by a different method than the theological one. There is a striking difference, too, in the effect upon our opinions as respects others, between the socialists and the Calvinists. The predestinationist believes that while men cannot help doing wrong, they will nevertheless be damned for it; some modern philosophers are using the argument of necessity to soften our judgment of evil doers, and to induce us to attempt to surround them with influences that will result in their reformation.

† Miller's *Life of Edwards.*

‡ From the days of Plato there has been no life of more simple and imposing grandeur than that of Jonathan Edwards, who, while living as a missionary at Northampton, then on the confines of civilization, set up his propositions, which have remained as if they were mountains of solid crystal in the centre of the world.—*Westminster Review*, v. 57.

The Rev. Mather Byles and Joseph Green, of Boston, were two famous wits of their day. Green left a number of poems, "Entertainment for a Winter Evening," "A Mournful Lamentation for the Death of Mr. Old Tenor," on the occasion of a change in the currency, with others. A very amusing poetical warfare took place between him and Byles. The worthy divine being on shipboard one Sunday, found no psalm book for worship, and composed a hymn for the occasion. Green gave a humorous account of this circumstance, and a parody of the hymn. Byles replied with a return parody. An elegy on Byles' cat, which he called his muse, by Green, is very witty. Verses by both Byles and Green are included in a volume entitled, "A Collection of Poems, by Several hands," Boston, 1744.

Jane Turrell, the daughter of a Boston clergyman, wrote verses at the age of eleven, which were thought good in their day. She died at twenty-six, and her poems were published by her husband. "An Invitation into the Country," imitated from Horace, contains some happy thoughts and is tolerably versified. "Father Abby's Will," written by John Secomb, was very popular in its day.

The Rev. John Adams, of Boston, was said to have been master of nine languages. He died at the age of thirty-six. His poems, published in 1745, consist of paraphrases of the Book of Revelation and some other portions of the Bible, and a "Poem on Society." The latter contains some good lines, and shows a fine appreciation of nature.

> "In some retirement spread with shaded greens,
> Our feet would wander through surrounding scenes,
> Or sitting near the murmur of the rills,
> The grass our bed, our curtains echoing hills,
> In mazy thought and contemplation join,
> Or speak of human things, or things divine;
> On nature's work by gentle steps to rise,
> And by this ladder gain th' impending skies,
> Follow the planets through their rolling spheres,
> Shine with the sun, or glow among the stars
> From world to world, as bees from flower to flower,
> Through nature's ample garden take our tour."

A few more writers of this age must be briefly mentioned. Prof. John Winthrop, of Harvard, distinguished himself by several works on natural history, and also wrote some devotional poems. Captain Benjamin Church's history of King Philip's war is a work which is the delight of every American boy. David Brainerd, a missionary to the Indians, published an account of his labors which has many features of interest. John Woolman's "Journal of his Life and Travels in the Service of the Gospel," is worthy of the distinguished honor lately accorded to it, of being edited by America's most national poet. William Livingston, a New Yorker, was a prolific and vigorous writer of law and political papers, and also published a poem entitled "Philosophic Solitude," which is superior to most of the colonial poetry. His genuine love of nature, and of a contemplative solitude, is well expressed in the following lines:

> "Full in the centre of some shady grove,
> By nature formed for solitude and love,
> On banks arrayed in ever-blooming flowers,
> Near beauteous landscapes, or by roseate bowers,
> My neat but simple mansion I would raise,
> Unlike the sumptuous domes of modern days;
> Devoid of pomp, with rural plainness formed,
> With savage gems and glossy shells adorned."

We have by no means enumerated all the writers of the colonial era; doubtless we have omitted several who are deserving of notice,—the reader will probably judge that we have mentioned at least as many who, for their own merits, should be left in obscurity. But there is something characteristic of the country and the times in most of them; we think we find in some of the most obscure and apparently the least creditable the germ of a national literature that is not yet developed.

At the epoch of the Revolutionary War, a different class of writers made their appearance, many of them creditable ones, and intellectual activity was much enhanced. Jefferson, and Paine, and Otis, and Dickinson, and Adams, and Frenau, and many more, wielded vigorous, and some of them graceful pens. Their age and their writings are a prolific subject, and worthy of a fuller review than we have given to their predecessors.

ART. VII.—*Catalogues, Prospectuses and Circulars of Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, Academies, etc., etc., Male and Female.* 1871–2.

IN general we are in favor of the unities; but there are times when they must be disregarded. and the present is one of them. We invite our readers, therefore, to no formal essay, but simply to a chat. Our subject has so many ramifications that our remarks must necessarily be desultory. So numerous are our colleges, universities, academies, seminaries and institutes, that, even to allude to each of the different kinds in a manner sufficiently definite to distinguish it from the rest, and at the same time undertake to preserve symmetry of outline, would require at least a duodecimo volume.

It would be different if we could praise all, or even the majority, for although eulogies are often long, in general they might just as well be short. Be this as as it may, it would be much more agreeable to us to use the language of approbation than that of censure. Some, we are aware, will deny this; nor shall we blame them. It would be just the same if they were criticised by anybody else; they would be sure to attribute the fact to some unworthy motive or other. One would have it that it was for his politics, another that it was for his religion, another that it was for his denying all religion. If any of these motives did not seem plausible, then the injured party would discover that he was attacked because he did not do this, or because he did do that. This is no mere hearsay on our part; if we ever had any doubt in regard to the theory as laid down by Plato, Aristotle, Lucian, Juvenal and Quintilian, it has been entirely removed by our own experience during the last twelve years, for there is no class of quacks, or imposters, by whom we have not been assailed in one form or other, for having dared to find fault with their performances.

Nor do the portion of those we have criticised who call themselves educators, form an exception, for some have threatened and abused us as much as the quack doctors, or any other class of malefactors whose contrivances we have taken the

liberty to examine. None have gone farther in their stealthy, insidious malice, than those who claim to be at once superior Christian ministers and superior educators; although, as our readers know, we treat all Christian sects alike, respecting the faith of each as an honest faith. If we ever make any distinction it is in favor of the minority, or of those in least favor with the public at large; and we pursue this course without allowing ourselves to be influenced in the slightest degree by the faith in which we have been brought up ourselves. But so far as the parties alluded to are concerned, we might as well have been the most intolerant of bigots and the vilest slanderers of their creed; for no other reason than that we refuse to accept the fame as educators of men who lived a half century, a century or two centuries ago, as a sufficient qualification for their successors of the present day. We think it quite enough to recognize the qualifications of such of those successors as really have the like, and that we fully do so without reference to nationality or country, nearly every number of our journal bears more or less testimony.

But it is not with persons of the latter character that we have any trouble, let their calling or their faith be what it may; it is not such as they that ever disoblige us. We think we may be excused for taking some pride in being able to say without fear of contradiction, that never have we been treated otherwise than courteously and kindly by men who have proved themselves competent for their positions. On the other hand we may ask with equal confidence, in what instance have we made any grave criticisms on any institution, clique, or cabal, the truth and justice of which have not sooner or later become sufficiently apparent even to the most skeptical of those willing to be convinced?

If, in the meantime, we have occasionally been made to suffer, we have not been surprised at our treatment more than once or twice, having learned long since that none are more implacable, or more unscrupulous in resenting criticism than those who deserve it most. It is no new faith of ours that of all the precepts of Hippocrates, there is not one which contains more truth and philosophy than that in which he tells the young sur-

geon that if his practice be at all extensive, he must expect to meet with ulcers so putrid and foul as not only to soil his clothes and offend his nostrils, but injure his health, or even endanger his life. But the sage adds that this must not deter his disciple from performing his duty—it must only induce him to take all proper precautions and leave the rest to Fate. Nor have we forgotten that a philosopher scarcely less illustrious than the Father of Medicine has compared the critic to the flying fish. If he rises a little, the birds devour him; if he dives, the fishes eat him up. Be this as it may, we have met both vultures and sharks, but although the characteristics of those creatures as described by Pliny and Buffon may have somewhat disconcerted us for a moment, we have been fortunate enough, hitherto, to be able to elude their fangs.

The first idea suggested to us by the large pile of catalogues, prospectuses and circulars now before us, and which include those of male and female institutions in nearly equal proportion, is the great noise which our "higher educators" make, at least once a year. It is time to understand that there is really too much of it. In far too many instances it has made downright farces of our college commencements. This, it will be remembered, is not the first time we have complained of the enormous amount of clap-trap indulged in at those exhibitions. We did so years ago, and we have availed ourselves of every subsequent opportunity to advocate a different course. But the love of noise has become a ruling passion to such an extent that it seems useless to condemn it; for instead of having diminished during the last decade, it has largely increased. In this at least there is nothing sectarian. All sects and denominations vie with each other as if those who make most noise were to have most glory. Nor are the ladies less energetic or less enterprising in this respect than the gentlemen. Even the religious orders—those claiming to be most timid and most opposed to the boisterous—have made wonderful progress in this direction, if progress it may be called.

We remember the time when those institutions, calling themselves colleges and universities, enjoyed a monopoly in this matter of rivalling the politicians in speech-making and

mutual admiration. But now even the boarding schools have their "commencements," and their chief care at the close of the season is to get as many as possible to deliver speeches for them. Perhaps it is not generally known that there are not a few who, without much pretension to either eloquence or learning, make quite a handsome business during June and July at this sort of work. We know those who, by merely altering the names, make one speech do for at least a half-dozen institutions; hence it is that it sometimes seems so strange how each of several schools, academies and seminaries, surpass all others in the world in exactly the same "peculiar merits."

Although it is exceedingly amusing to observe the fussy efforts made by third and fourth-rate schools to get up "commencements," and make as much noise as possible, those efforts are natural enough. Man is an imitative animal; still more so than the monkey. Accordingly what those regarded as the great do, the little will always take pattern by to a greater or less extent. And who can find fault with the logic that, if long and loud eulogies be good for colleges and universities, they cannot be bad for boarding schools? If a large institution thrives on puffery, why may not a small one expect to flourish by the same means?

Has any intelligent person failed to observe how much the most pretentious of our colleges depend on the reporters of the daily press for their fame? Far be it from us to deny that there are educated men among that useful class; but the number is exceedingly small. Those who have the advantage of a classical education can do better than report. But there are scarcely any reporters connected with our principal morning papers who have not a pretty good knowledge of the grammar of the vernacular; nearly all have more or less talent; and none are without a certain kind of tact. In short, the majority have exactly the sort of qualifications that suit the speech makers. Many a professor claiming to be an oracle in learning would make a wretched figure before the public if his eulogies either on "alma mater," or on some member of the society to which he belongs were printed as he composed it. Evidently the reporters have been aware of this state of the case for some

time. Knowing that without their aid the commencement is a complete failure in its chief design, they sometimes become as hard to be pleased as those servant-maids who boast of having lived in the best families. Not only must they have the best chair and the best table, they must also have the best wine, or the best whiskey, as the case may be, the best dish of soup, the best plate of meat, etc. If the high functionaries of the college or their orators do not understand this, all their fine expectations may prove such as to remind them of the peasant girl and her basket of eggs. Still more disagreeable would it be, perhaps, to make a bad speech worse, or to render the least absurd of all the eulogies the most absurd. Such things occasionally happen however. There is still living a distinguished educator and divine, who, having suffered somewhat from allowing more than a certain measure of brandy to one who was to have reported his speech *in extenso*, discovered that Plato as well as Solomon makes exceptions in regard to the tastes and wishes of those who are worthy in other respects. It is not for us to explain what Solomon advises on this subject, but the curious reader may easily satisfy himself that in the passage in Plato relied upon, the philosopher meant a very different thing.* However, although these incorrect readings of the classics often do much mischief, and are far too common in some of our colleges, it is not the less true that the fame as an educator of the reverend professor alluded to has been widely extended since he allowed the reporter to help himself.†

* See Plato, *Repub.* v.

† It is only necessary to see a tolerably extensive variety of the newspapers in order to be aware that not only "high schools," academies and seminaries, male and female, have the most vulgar, bombastic eulogies inserted in village papers in order to exhibit them in their advertisements or circulars, as conclusive evidence of their superiority above all rivals. These "testimonies" are generally fortified by letters or extracts from letters, purporting to be spontaneous in their admiration, but really solicited for the purpose. Sometimes gentlemen and ladies are written to, as it were, incidentally, for their opinions in regard to the school or seminary (or perhaps it is a book manufactured by one of the professors they are questioned about) and although no intimation is given them of the intention to publish—perhaps it is a year afterward they are mortified to find themselves included among the puffers. Even the printer, who gets up the circular, or the catalogue, is turned to account as a reference. We have now before us in-

Need we say that all this love of display and clap-trap is radically wrong? Who is so credulous as to believe that the standard of education is to be raised by machinery so similar to that by which ward politicians are raised to the dignities of statesmen and lawgivers? Are our college faculties to make no use of their common sense? Have they no idea of exciting ridicule and derision? Do they think it is of more consequence for them to please "the groundlings" than "the judicious?" or does it not occur to them that they make themselves far too much like the suitors of Penelope, who, convinced of their inability to exercise any influence on the lady, are content to say all their fine things to her "help?"

The best of our colleges acknowlege the superiority of the similar institutions of Europe; but which of the latter makes, or ever has made, as much noise in twenty years as one of the former makes at one "commencement." Thus, let us compare Harvard with Heidelberg, Yale with Oxford or Cambridge, Princeton with Douay, Columbia with Thuringia, Rutgers with Gottengen, the University of Pennsylvania with the University of Padua, and what admission must we make as to the relative amount of noise? If any of the great old institutions have adopted the modern system of puffery even to the smallest extent, is it not because they are in a state of decay and degeneracy? Did any of them do so in their palmiest days when they educated the most illustrious thinkers?

Do the Jesuit colleges form an exception? Used the good fathers blow their horns, ring their bells, and summon their puffers to proclaim what they had done during the last term when they were really great as educators, and numbered among their students men who rendered themselves famous by their learning and genius? Did they not, on the contrary, strictly prohibit all such exhibitions even among their novices, comparing them to empty vessels? Nor is it different at this day in any respectable Jesuit college in Europe. Such of the fathers as

stances of these various contrivances, and we must confess we can hardly tell whether it is the Protestants or the Catholics, the gentlemen or the ladies, the pious or the impious, who evince most ingenuity, or most barefacedness in their manufacture.

are fond of that sort of thing are shipped at once to America; they are told that in this favored land they may not only indulge their proclivities in that respect to the fullest extent, but expect to become famous as educators in proportion to the amount of noise they make. Although it is but fair to remember that here too there are exceptions; it is only under certain auspices that this class would be accepted by the fathers of the District of Columbia, or those of Massachusetts. In general, they would be informed that New York or Missouri is the place for them. New York they would find a veritable land of promise; there they could have their own way. All orders of Catholics, male and female, with *one exception*, would acknowledge their immense superiority as educators, and receive their dictation as the true gospel. But let that pass for the present.

Since pretension, display and *strepitus*—sometimes, still worse—are thus our great educational agencies, is it any wonder that so large a proportion of our professors are willing to discard the study of the classic languages on the ground that too much time has to be devoted to it? Some—perhaps the majority—do not go so far as to exclude the languages altogether from our colleges; but certain it is that if they are studied more imperfectly than they are now, that would be the more decent course. It is but a slight consolation to know that none who have thoroughly mastered those languages would agree to their exclusion; for although there are as accomplished Latin and Greek scholars in some of our colleges, Protestant and Catholic, as are to be met with anywhere, their number is so very small, that their voice is scarcely heard in the crowd of smatterers and pretenders. The opinions of those who know nothing of either Greek or Latin, or any other language than the vernacular, are held by the trustees and other parties exercising control, as of much greater importance.

In illustration of this we need only remark that we have visited several institutions, male and female, of high pretensions, in which certain newspaper editors are the chief authorities. It is true that the latter are not thus honored because anybody supposes them to be competent judges as to

what constitutes a liberal education. Nor do they owe their distinction to their manners; indeed, the more unmannerly they are—the less respect they evince for the decencies of life—the more ready they are to call vile names and even give the lie direct, the more likely they are to be placed in a commanding position.

The difficulty lies in the ruling passion—the love of puffery and the fear of exposure. The editor whose vanity is thus tickled, is expected not only to publish occasional eulogies on those who have taken the pains to tickle it, he must also regard it as his duty to abuse with more or less violence all who attempt to find fault with their peculiar system of education. Nor is there much danger that he will get tired of this sort of work, at least for some years, since he knows that if he does it satisfactorily, rival institutions will honor him still more, if possible, so that in time he may expect a diploma dubbing him a doctor of laws, doctor of philosophy, doctor of divinity, or doctor of turnips, according as his taste may be known to run in one direction or another. This system has the double advantage of enabling those who adopt it to immortalize themselves at a cheap rate, and at the same time to secure complete immunity from criticism, in a great many instances, for the institution so fortunate as to be placed under their enlightened guidance.

Far be it from us to place all our institutions in the clap-trap category. We have always taken pleasure in pointing out exceptions; and those that were such, a year, two years, or ten years ago, are such to-day, although some have not made as good progress as others; nay, some, we regret to say, have retrograded. Because it is the fashion to make noise, the best of our institutions have to make more or less. They feel that they too must have some regard for what is "popular;" they are quite aware that to please the many is to displease the wise; but they have learned from experience that the latter are too few. At the same time it is strictly true that just in proportion as our institutions, male and female, great and small, religious or non-religious, perform their duties faithfully and efficiently, do they make least noise; just in this proportion are they like the schools of the Pythagorians, who never raised their voice ex-

cept to give instruction to their pupils. Harvard College is one of the best institutions in this country; is it not also one of the calmest? That it numbers more learned and more eloquent men among its instructors than any other institution in New England, is beyond question. Did we say that its faculty possess more knowledge and talent than all the other New England faculties put together, we should indulge in no exaggeration, although we are aware that many of our readers entertain a different opinion. But even those who do will hardly deny that there is another New England college which makes more noise, boasts more, puffs more, makes more display than a dozen colleges like Harvard.

What the University of New York may be doing just now, or what may be its tendency, we are not informed; but we know that under the auspices of Dr. Ferris there was no more dignified institution anywhere; certainly no similar American institution made less display or less noise; and we need hardly add that it was proportionably distinguished for the good it did. We have no reason to doubt that will it continue to maintain the same high character under the chancellorship of Dr. Crosby; for all the old, competent, eminent professors are, we believe, still there, and the reputation of the new chancellor is that of a sholar and disciplinarian.

Old Columbia is, in general, modest and quiet. It numbers among its faculty some thorough scholars and accomplished educators; but it is too wealthy—it has too much money, and too much real estate. We know that to many this will seem rather an advantage than the contrary; but is it well that money should rule at a college—that matter should prevail over mind? Dr. Barnard, the president, is blamed from time to time, because the standard of scholarship tends downward rather than upward at that institution; it is forgotten, or not known, that he can do nothing of any importance for the college without obtaining permission from his masters, the purse-holders. Purse-holders are apt to be purse-proud and stiff, and quite as apt to be fond of display. Occasionally, however, they are generous; and here we have, as it were in a nutshell, a full explanation of the fitful, uncertain character of the progress at Columbia. No doubt some

will say that Dr. Barnard ought either to insist on being allowed to manage the college in the manner which he thinks best calculated to promote its efficiency, and carry out the wishes of its founders, or resign; nor can we deny if they do that there is some force in their logic.

But of all the colleges which we could mention, none illustrate our views so fully, by comparison, as those of the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers. This is not the first time we have compared these two orders. We did so more than seven years ago, and on several occasions since. Inasmuch as both are Catholics, none can pretend that sectarianism has anything to do with our preference. The truth is that if it had, the Jesuits and not the Christian Brothers would be our favorites, for the latter are undoubtedly better Catholics than the former. At first view this may seem paradoxical; but a little reflection will show that it is a fact as fully capable of being demonstrated as any problem in Euclid. In the first place, the Christian Brothers have never been expelled from any Catholic country, whereas the Jesuits have been expelled from every Catholic country, not excepting the States of the Church —the Pope* himself having declared them a dangerous body, and accordingly dissolved the society. The Christian Brothers have never brought odium on the church by causing themselves to be suspected of getting up conspiracies in Catholic or Protestant countries, or of committing any heinous crimes.

We have no wish to extend the comparison in this direction, for whatever may be said to the contrary, we are not in the least disposed to be harsh to the Jesuits. Suffice it therefore to say, in proof of the superior catholicity of the Christian Brothers, that—by their gentleness, their entire freedom from bigotry, their disposition to make no distinction in kindness between Catholic and Protestant, and their devoting themselves exclusively to teaching—they secure wherever they are—whether among Protestants or Catholics—the esteem and respect of all classes. When the Franco-Prussian war commenced, the Christian Brothers were among the first to volunteer—not, in-

* Clement XIV.—1773.

deed, to fight, but to mitigate, as far as possible, the sufferings of those who did, without waiting to inquire whether they were friends or foes. Thus, it was that even the ferocious communists treated the Brothers with comparative mildness. As for the Prussians, they treated no class of prisoners with more consideration. The same facts explain why it is that even the most bigoted Protestants not unfrequently say, in America as well as in Europe, "It cannot be so bad a religion after all that inspires such noble conduct!" It must be admitted that, in one point of view, at least, they are the best Catholics who raise the church highest in the estimation of friends and foes; and if so, can there be any question as to which of the two orders is entitled to the preference at the present day?

Again, none are more pious, none more truthful or more reliable in their dealings with Protestants or Catholics than the Brothers; and they are equally distinguished for their respect and veneration for the hierarchy of the church from the pope, the bishop, and the archbishop down to the humblest curate. It is none of our business whether the Jesuits are pious or not; nor do we charge them with lack of truthfulness, or lack of honesty. But do they ever interfere in politics or in any other worldly affairs, public or private, in which their piety or their duties as educators would not require them to interfere? How much respect or veneration have they for any members of the hierarchy not belonging to their own order? Have they any at all except for such as submit implicitly to their dictation? Is not every Catholic who knows them, aware that they speak of the most pious and highly educated priests somewhat as follows: "For a secular Father ———— is passable;" "A priest like Father ———— would not get charge of the novices with us;" "If Father ———— were a Jesuit there would be some sense in his pretensions."

We are quite far enough with our comparison in this direction also. For more than a century the Jesuits were great educators. There are those among them, even in this country, who are still great; but none such are to be found in the archdiocese of New York. Most cheerfully do we say now, as we have on former occasions, that no doubt there are good Jesuit priests at

St. Xavier's College and Fordham; but we can assure them that they would be considered much better by intelligent Catholics as well as Protestants, if they were less jealous of Manhattan College. We have often heard it remarked that Catholic clergymen belonging to any order should not allow themselves to grow pale with envy, much less lose their temper and indulge in disparaging observations, because the Christian Brothers in charge of colleges in America too evidently surpass them as educators. It seems, however, that if only those at Manhattan carried the palm, our New York Jesuits would be comparatively reconciled to the loss of the ancient prestige of the society; but although the one so near St. Xavier's and St. John's is the best of the Christian Brothers' institutions in this country, that order have also an excellent college at St. Louis, another at Rock Hill, Maryland, another at Philadelphia, and yet another at San Francisco.

Here, too, justice and fairness require us to discriminate. We do not allege that the Jesuits of Georgetown are thus jealous and envious in regard to the success of the Christian Brothers; some time ago we could say the same of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts. While the latter institution was under the direction of Father Clark, there was no better anywhere. It was then neither bigoted nor envious, but eminently liberal, and it was progressive just in proportion as it was superior to sectarian prejudice.

Under the directorship of Father Maguire, Georgetown retrograded to some extent, although that gentleman is justly esteemed for many excellent qualities. His want of success as president of the college only shows that one may preach an eloquent sermon, and have a wide circle of admiring friends among the most intelligent classes, and yet utterly fail as an educator. Our readers may remember that for this very reason we had deprecated the removal of Father Maguire's predecessor. Without any pretension to the prophetic gift we did not hesitate to predict that the change boded no good for the college. But now Father Early is back again at the head of the institution; and we readily admit that while he remains there,

the high and honorable prestige of Georgetown is likely to be maintained in its integrity.

Who will say, then, that it is against the Jesuits as a body, or an order, that we speak? We merely take the liberty of criticising inferior educators who ostentatiously claim to be superior educators. If this class happen to include Jesuits the fault is not ours. In other words, it is not we that are to blame if somebody off in Canada or Italy labors under the impression that it is not necessary to send any of the higher class of Jesuit educators to St. Xavier's, or St. John's.

Upon the other hand, if the superiors of the Christian Brothers make it a point to send us their best educators we think that all denominations ought to give them credit for doing so. At all events, it is with results we have to deal, not with names, promises or pretensions. If we are to blame for acknowledging the decided merits of the collegiate system of the Christian Brothers, can it be said that the archbishop of the diocese is altogether blameless, for never have we spoken in higher terms of Manhattan than his grace did at the last commencement. Yet he was not more emphatic than another Protestant like ourselves, the chancellor of the University of the State of New York who was present on the same occasion, and paid a high tribute to Manhattan. Nor was this Mr. Pruyn's first time; we had heard him do so ourselves more than once years ago. But the archbishop hesitated for years, for no one knows better than he how sensitive the Jesuits are on that point. Rather than offend them he would look on for hours at examinations which would do credit to any institution in America without as much as a nod of approbation. His grace had either to persist in this total silence or decline to witness those examinations, and he chose the latter alternative. During the same years he attended all the "exhibitions" of the Jesuits, and bestowed abundant praise on each. On one or two occasions we took the liberty of finding fault with this course. We thought it was not exactly fair, and we said so. It affords us much more pleasure to congratulate his grace now than it did then to criticise him, for we had not the least disposition to do the latter. True, there are at least a score of priests in the diocese of New

York whose opinion as to what constitutes a classical education we regard as of much greater weight than that of the archbishop, for we do not believe in mere *ex-officio* learning. In our opinion, the chief importance of the wonderful change that has come over the archbishop, consists in the evidence it affords that he has at last discovered that if knowledge is power, the want of it is weakness with Jesuits as well as other people. In short, we regard his grace's recent speech as a declaration of independence, and we hope he will make a similar one on every anniversary of that day, for many years to come; at least until there is a great improvement on the other side. If not, however, we shall be entirely satisfied to learn that the very reverend vicar-general—the amiable and churchmanlike Father Starr—will attend and speak in the future as he never has failed to do in the past, as long as the light of the archiepiscopal countenance was afraid to shine in that direction.

An intelligent Catholic friend, to whom we have expressed our pleasure at the archbishop's "declaration of independence," remarks that several declarations of independence in regard to the same gentlemen are devoutly to be wished.* "There is not one of our female orders," he says, "engaged in education in this diocese that would not do much better than it does, by emancipating itself from the yoke of the Jesuits." This rather startled us, and we were about to remonstrate, when our friend added: "By all means let the sisters respect them as clergymen; let them be advised by them, too, in spiritual matters. Sometimes they might perhaps profit by their advice in educational affairs, also;† but now they can hardly buy a book, or perform the slightest

* We are credibly informed that even *tailors*—especially Irish tailors—claiming to be Catholics, must be orthodox in the bestowal of their patronage. Although in a Protestant country that useful class cannot avoid patronizing some "heretics," they must, at least, show no favor to such as have dared to find fault with the Jesuits. If they are not afraid of the sin of it, they must be made to feel the effect of it on their pockets; for no more cassocks or pantaloons will be taken from them, even in those instances in which they have endowed scholarships with the understanding that they would receive large orders annually or semi-annually for those garments!

† We entirely misunderstand some of our Catholic friends if the Fathers do not attempt to instruct the good Sisters even in their peculiar system of puffery. We

business transaction, without obtaining permission from the fathers; and whether this permission is given or withheld will depend on various circumstances, but chiefly on certain selfish prejudices." We confess we had suspected this for some time, and so we tell our friend. "It is no suspicion with *me*," he says; "I know it from experience. Having a nephew at Manhattan College whose progress pleased me much, I placed my daughter at the Sacred Heart. The ladies there are very kind and very good, but they allow themselves to be influenced by all the quarrels of their brothers, the Jesuits. Finding that even the archbishop had not half so much control as they over Madam Hardy, I removed my daughter to Mount St. Vincent; but I soon found that there, too, all is Jesuit rule." On his pausing for a moment we make a few remarks on the delightful situation of Mount St. Vincent. "It is a very fine place," he says; "the situation of the Sacred Heart is also very fine, though not equal to Mount St. Vincent. But do you know that the poor girls can rarely admire the beauties of either *otherwise than through the windows?*" "How is that?" we inquire. "Lest they might know too much about the world; or lest something might happen them. In fact, I couldn't tell you what the notion is, except it be that there is too much preparation for heaven. My daughter thought it was at least preparation for the grave." "It is not so," we remarked, "in the principal Catholic academies in other parts of the country." "Why, Catholicism has nothing to do with it; at least, if it has, the Christian Brothers are downright Protestants in the matter of exercise and fresh air; for I frequently meet their students in dozens going from Manhattan to the Central Park, each dozen being in charge of a Brother."* "That is an excellent idea," we

hope they will not succeed in this; and yet we have lately seen some very ingenious specimens of the art emanating from certain academies of high character.

* This, it seems to us, is a much better kind of exercise for students than billiard-playing. Formerly the Jesuits thought so too, and if we are not mistaken they think so still in all their first-class institutions, including Georgetown. Indeed, we are not aware that they entertain a different view anywhere, but at Fordham. It seems the Fathers of this institution inform the newspapers that the great English universities introduced the art long since. This we readily acknowledge to be partly true; for more than a century and-a-half ago, Steele

remark; "the course of the Brothers in this respect has been universally commended." "Why not? See how healthy the young gentlemen are; and see, on the contrary, how pale and delicate the young ladies are." "Still you prefer to have your daughter in charge of the sisters?" "Not at all, for I only left her one month at St. Vincent, and her mother would have removed her sooner, although she is a more zealous Catholic than I who love my religion as much as any one. We like the sisters very much as pious, good ladies, but we very much *dis*like their system of education as carried on under Fordham and St. Xavier dictation. As it is, we greatly prefer where we now have her; although surrounded by no groves, she takes a walk almost every afternoon, accompanied by several of her fellow students, and at least one of her teachers. Many friends advised me to send her to the Georgetown Academy of the Visitation, to Mount de Chantal near Wheeling, or to St. Mary's Notre Dame, Indiana; and I would have done so, for I am convinced of the high character of each, but the distance even to the nearest is too far. At all events, I have no reason to be dissatisfied with her present school. She has been there now more than a year, and nowhere has she made so much progress in her education. She has done as well in that respect as my nephew has at Manhattan College; and that is enough

had a paper in the Spectator in which he describes what he calls "a new sect of Loungers" formed at Cambridge University, and whose fundamental maxim was the following: "That Time being an implacable enemy to, and destroyer of all things, ought to be paid off in his own coin, and be *destroyed and murdered without mercy, by all the ways that can be invented.*" In the last paragraph of the letter in which this with other maxims is given, and which purports to come from the university, the following information is contained: "Our younger students are content to carry their speculations, *as yet, no farther than bowling greens, billiard tables and such like places.*"—Spec. No. 54, May 2, 1711.

This would seem to show that the cue was not unknown at Cambridge at the beginning of the last century, but in all our researches we have failed to find that the faculty of Cambridge has, even to this day, sent a deputation to wait on the champion billiard player of the metropolis, conduct him to the college, deliver addresses to him, etc., and finally had all the proceedings published in the sporting journals, as redounding to the glory of *alma mater*. In short, so far as we are aware, no other institution, ancient or modern, Catholic, or Protestant, can dispute with Fordham the credit of this "step in advance," and the fact may perhaps account for the superior sobriety of its students even on "exhibition day."

for me. All her teachers are, I believe, Protestants, but she is not the less a Catholic to-day on that account than she was a year ago, for they never interfere with her religion and Father ——— is as pious and faithful as ever."

Now, will it be believed that some of the most pious of the more highly educated parish priests of New York entertain views identical with those here quoted, in regard to the consequences of the control exercised by the Jesuits?* But they assign a reason for the change which the views of the archbishop have undergone, of which we were not aware until lately, namely, that Manhattan sends more and better students to the Provincial Seminary, at Troy, to be prepared for the priesthood, than either St. Xavier's or Fordham, if not than both those institutions combined. If this be correct, and we have no reason to doubt it, does it not afford yet another strong argument that the Christian Brothers are better Catholics than the Jesuits?

There is one sort of tampering which we beg leave to think

---

* Let any who doubt the fact make some inquiries at our principal Protestant female colleges, seminaries, schools, etc. We have never known the institution of Dr. Van Norman, or that of Dr. Pierce, to be without several Catholic pupils; and we are informed that Mlle. Rostan has been similarly favored, although avowedly a staunch Huguenot. This is sufficient evidence of the liberality of the secular clergy; for if they really opposed the habit, it would not exist long. But to our own knowledge they have no objection in nine cases out of ten. "Far be it from me," says one of the best priests in New York, "to object to a first-class school or college because its teachers are Protestants. I would unhesitatingly send my niece or my sister to such, rather than to an inferior Catholic school, or to one in which she would be in danger of losing her health."

As another illustrative fact, known to ourselves, we may mention the case of two young ladies whose father is an Italian gentleman, brought up under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, and whose mother is an Irish lady. Both are zealous Catholics, but this did not prevent them from placing their daughters under the tuition of the "heretical" teachers of one of the three institutions just alluded to. Nor have they any reason to-day to be sorry for their preference. The father of the young ladies, who is an educated man, and who has some of the wit, as well as the talent, of Conova, gives the results as follows: "They are not now she Jesuits, but still good Catholics; you see they are by no means consumptive; and yet, are they not, at least, as well educated as those who are kept so busy praying, fasting aud studying, that they can only see the sun occasionally, and only breathe a certain amount of fresh air, per week?"

the fathers should desist from at once. We have received complaints from various quarters that they are in the habit of visiting the parents of the students of different Catholic institutions and exercising their sacerdotal influence in their own peculiar way to secure those students for themselves. Thus, for example, a Jesuit father calls on a Catholic lady who has four sons at one of the institutions of the Christian Brothers. He assigns various reasons more or less ingenious, if not cogent, why it would be so much better for the worldly, as well as the heavenly, interests of the boys to be trained by the Jesuits. The lady not regarding the question in this light begs to be excused for not wishing to withdraw her sons from an institution in which their morals as well as their education are faithfully, kindly, and successfully attended to. "Well," says the father, "you cannot object, as a Catholic, to give two at least." The lady still demurs. Finally he is willing to take one. She admits she hesitated somewhat at this point, and was even about to give her consent, when she happened to remember the fable in which a well known animal wished, in his old age, to enter into a treaty with a certain shepherd. First, his condition of future friendship is to receive six sheep; then he would take four—then two; but as the shepherd still objects, Master Lupus finally offers to take even one sheep. The lady protests that she would not for the world compare the good father to an animal of the rapacious and carnivorous species, but in spite of her catholicity the fable induced her to persist in her refusal.

True, the Jesuits are not the only sacerdotal order against whom this complaint is made, but we are assured that they carry the system much farther than any others. Be this as it may, let who will indulge in the habit—in our humble opinion, it is a sort of poaching which the bishop or the archbishop should prevent, as altogether unworthy of Christian ministers, if only for its gross unfairness to those who devote themselves exclusivsly to education. It has, however, another aspect which it seems to us ought not to be overlooked; that is, how much liberality, or Christian charity can Protestant educators expect even from clergymen who are thus illiberal and uncharitable to the most

useful and most worthy class of their own people? Yet this is not the worst moral effect of the system. Its influence on the students who are, as it were, kidnapped, is still more injurious to the church as well as to society, not to mention the mischief it does themselves by demoralizing them. Thus, instances like the following have come to our own knowledge, and we are assured that much worse are of frequent occurrence: A boy of sixteen is found in a certain condition at a late hour of the night on several occasions; some of his comrades tell him he will be expelled, because the regulations plainly say so. His reply is, "Oh, don't you mind that. Father——isn't going to expel me after bothering my mother for a whole year to get me to come. He daren't do it!" Another maltreats a classmate, who is much younger and weaker than himself, and when talked to about punishment makes a similar reply, adding "Father——may go to——."

But we find that our space is exhausted. The Jesuits have occupied much more of it than we had intended they should—so much, indeed, that we must pass over several other enterprising tribes, Protestant and Catholic, each of which claim to surpass all others as educators. It was our intention in commencing to devote a full share of this article to that interesting class of institutions which make a speciality of training the sexes side by side, in order that they may know each other better in after life, and therefore agree better as husbands and wives, than they would ever be likely to do under the "old fogy" system of educating each separately. Our Jesuit friends would, perhaps, have excused us had we retained sufficient room for at least a brief discussion of what may be called the social and amiable plan in education; but probably the professors of that plan will be equally willing to excuse us for the omission, especially when we assure them that their case will not be forgotten. No doubt several of such class of educators would have been as well pleased had we confined ourselves to only as many observations as would fill a page or two, but as all claim to have great respect for classic antiquity, and great love for the subject which we treat so imperfectly, they will no doubt forgive us when we assure them

that we are actuated by a lively, abiding faith in the following maxims of Plutarch: "True glory is a thing deserving respect, but unstable; beauty is a prize that men fight to obtain, but when obtained, it is of little continuance; health is a precious enjoyment, but easily impaired; strength is a thing desirable, but apt to be the prey of disease and old age. And, in general, let any man who values himself upon strength of body know that he makes a great mistake; for what, indeed, is any proportion of human strength, if compared to that of other animals, such as the elephants and bulls and lions? But *learning alone, of all things in our possession*, is IMMORTAL AND DIVINE."

ART. VIII.—1. *The Injunction Proceedings against the City Government.* September.

2. *The Central Park under Ring-Leader Rule.* Third edition. Pamphlet. Reprinted from "National Quarterly" for March, 1871.

TIME is the most impartial witness and the surest vindicator. When we described "Ring-leader Rule" in March last, without indulging in the slightest exaggeration, our readers know with what fury we were set upon. If we were not abused and vilified, no editor or writer ever was. A mob of fishwomen would have been discriminating and decent in its language compared to that employed to assail us. We were slanderers of the great and good; we were actuated by spite and malice—in short, by every diabolical motive. Need we say now that it was not what we said in regard to the style of "pruning" adopted at the Central Park that excited all this terrible ire against us? It may be remembered that there is not one of the charges that have been made against the Ring within the last two or three months which were not presented in outline in our article en-

titled, "The Central Park under Ring-Leader Rule," which was written early in February, and published in March.

In March last, no one conld point out a single instance in which our statements in regard to the destructive treatment of the Park did anybody injustice; and to-day the same remark will apply to the charges of corruption interspersed throughout our criticisms on the pruning, hacking, stubbing, etc., etc. But we confined our charges to Mr. Sweeny. We did not utter a word even against his immediate associates or subordinates in the Department of Public Parks. We were quite aware of the prominent position occupied by Mr. Hilton, but we knew nothing that would justify us even in suspecting that gentleman of unworthy conduct. We were aware that, at all events, he was not the author of the mischief we complained of. Accordingly we made no strictures on Mr. Hilton. We knew that Mr. Sweeny was the great man who would have everything his own way, even in horticulture and botany, which were nearly as great mysteries to him as the quadrature of the circle or the philosopher's stone. Indeed, so far as that property ascribed to the latter, of turning everything it touched into gold, is concerned, we believe that Mr. Sweeny knew much more about it than about any science so honest, or free from trickery, as botany, or horticulture. But we thought him all the more to blame on account of this ignorance, for undertaking the management of what was so just a source of pride and so fair an object of anxious solicitude to all our citizens.

Now, if it was right for us to hold Mr. Sweeny responsible for a sort of management which his most zealous champions could not pretend he had ever undergone any preparation for, how could it be wrong for us to hold him responsible for a sort of management, which both himself and his friends constantly boasted he had been preparing for all his life? When we wrote on the subject, there was no form in which it had not been trumpeted far and near that Mr. Sweeny was the "brains" of Tammany. In short, if we were to believe either his numerous retainers or himself, he was more than the Premier of our municipal government—he was the great Pericles by whom all others were to be directed and guided.

It is well known that since we heard of him at all, we have always regarded him much more as a Sarpi than as a Pericles. In other words, we have considered him rather a representative of Venetian degeneracy and despotism than of Athenian greatness and glory. But if Sarpi is the fountain of power, is it not Sarpi that should be held responsible for the manner in which the power is exercised, and for the use made of it? If such be the instincts of Sarpi that he keeps in the background himself, doing all the plotting and scheming, is he less responsible on this account, or more entitled to immunity from criticism, than he would have been had he had the manliness to avow his own acts or perform them openly and come forward to defend them when censured? We thought so six months, nay, twelve months ago, and we are exactly of the same opinion to-day. If a year since we regarded him as the fountain of evil in proportion as he was the fountain of power, we regard him in precisely the same light to-day.

Nor must it be supposed that because he has done all in his power to persecute us for having dared to find fault with his operations, or with the motives by which he is actuated in being so anxious to serve the public, we are a whit less willing to do him justice now than we were before we learned that for certain reasons he was not our friend. We can honestly assure Mr. Sweeny that we have not the slightest malice against him, and that we do not wish to cast any odium upon him further than his conduct will be found to deserve it on a full and fair examination. This, indeed, will be admitted by every impartial reader who will accompany us to the close of this article; for we do not write it in any such spirit as one of exultation at the humiliation, or fall even of those we regard as having eminently deserved both. Were we even capable of it, would it not be an absurd feeling, since we are by no means sure now more than we were twelve or fifteen months since, but that Mr. Sweeny may still be able to retain his power and continue to plot and scheme as heretofore? We think it quite as probable that he will, as that he will not, if not a little more probable, judging by the man's character, and the deplorable credulity and ignorance of the misguided, but well-meaning classes, to

whom he owes all his importance. We now proceed to show whether our opinion of Mr. Sweeny is based upon the criticisms of others, or derived from recent developments. Thus, in our article on "Party Strife," published in the Review for December last, but written the first week of November, we used the following language:

"Be this as it may, we have, ourselves, criticised several members of the Ring in turn, from time to time, according as we thought they deserved it; such, for example, as the late democratic president of the Croton Board, the late street commissioner, and one or two other functionaries, who notoriously neglected their duties.

Nor *shall we shrink from pursuing the same course in the future.* We have our *eye at this moment* on certain "members" whose chief qualifications for high official position are *impudence, pretension, and arrogance;* members who, while they *assume the airs of statesmen and lawgivers,* know about as much of the science of government, *the science of law,* or *any other science*—save that of making money, *and thrusting their friends where they can make it also,* as the famous "Colonel" Fisk, Jr., knows about military science. But the individuals alluded to are possessed of a certain *cunning,* and display a *quasi* liberality, which secure them comparative immunity from attack when they deserve it most."

We used the plural number in this merely because we did not wish to point out the individual to whom we alluded more plainly yet a while, until we saw whether he would persist in certain schemes in which we knew he was already engaged. Mayor Hall thought that he was included in the allusion on account of our reference to "the science of law," and some of his friends thought the same, although in order to obviate that mistake, we had remarked in passing that we considered the mayor free from "grave faults;" our intention being to hold the boasted "fountain" and "brains" responsible for the plan of ruling us which he had then nearly complete. His treatment of the Central Park excited our scincere indignation. Besides we felt sure before he proceeded far with it that he would treat some of his fellow citizens as he treated some of the best trees in the Park if his power were not restrained before long, for no one has ever reminded us more forcibly of the symbolic lesson of Thrasybulus to Periander. The tyrant of Corinth sends to his worthy brother of Miletus for his advice in regard

to certain of his subjects who were disposed to criticise his system of government. Thrasybulus said nothing, but conducted the ambassadors into a field of wheat which was nearly ripe. Then he drew his scimitar and amused himself by cutting off such ears as towered above the rest. This was his only reply to the ambassadors; but although it seemed absurd and inexplicable to them, it was perfectly intelligible to their master, who immediately proceeded to put to death, banish, and despoil his subjects according as he thought one course or another would best serve his own purposes. This may explain why it was that we commenced our article on "Ring-Leader Rule," in the Park, by quoting the advice of the great Linnæus to Gustavus III. to "beware of petty politicians." Speaking of the Sangrado treatment which the Park was undergoing at the time, we took the liberty of throwing out the following little hints:

"In common with all who glance at the newspapers, we are, indeed, aware that Mr. Peter B. Sweeny belongs to the democratic party; we might as well pretend to be ignorant of the existence of the illustrious James Fisk, Jr., or of our equally illustrious quack doctors, as not to know, at least, the avowed political dogmas of that distinguished person.

"We are only sorry that he did not confine his attentions to *the party work he had been used to*, and let our beautiful Park alone. Had he done so, it is by no means certain that his name would ever have found its way into these pages. This is the first time we have ever printed it, although made aware, *years ago*, that Mr. Sweeny *boasts of being the manager of the democratic party in New York*, and *one of our wealthiest politicians*. Assuming both facts to be true, we confess *we could never understand* how he became manager, or *how he acquired his wealth*."

Referring to certain jocose comparisons which made Mr. Sweeny fancy himself one of the greatest men then living,—although those who made them doubtless laughed in their sleeve while doing so, we did great injustice to the real Bismarck as follows:

"Be it remembered that it is not alone the faculty of acting as the zealous, unscrupulous tool of the despot and spoliator that Count Bismarck possesses in a high degree, for he is equally *cunning, greedy, and oblivious of principle in smuggling the most stupid and good-for-nothing of his relatives into positions where they also can fatten on the public fodder, and become millionaires at the expense of the tax-payers*."

We hope Count Bismarck will excuse us for this, since it is sufficiently evident that it was not against him we wished to put the public on its guard, but against a very different, and a much worse man, even as regarded from a democratic standpoint. It was to the "zealous, unscrupulous," "cunning" and "greedy" individual near home we alluded; and it was the "relatives" of that individual whom we regarded as smuggled in the manner intimated. But we think the Count will be all the more willing to accept our apology when he bears in mind that the comparison just quoted was followed by this:

"But we cannot help thinking that there would be much more force, and more *justice*, too, in comparing the present head (?) of the Department of Public Parks to his friend, Colonel Fisk, Jr. If the former claims to be a jurist, and the latter claims to be a military chieftain, we think that the legal attainments of the one are pretty nearly on a par with the military attainments of the other; in other words, one is about as good a specimen of a field-officer as his friend is of a counsellor at law, *We have no doubt that the latter could defend one for obtaining money under false pretences, or for conspiring with others for that purpose, as ably and fearlessly* as the former could command a target company in charging a battalion of fishmongers before the enemy had time to arm."

Were we right in this, or were we not? How many even of the present investigating "seventy" admitted, or believed that we were right? But we did not merely allude to the smuggling of friends into positions "where they also could fatten on the public fodder, and become milionaires at the expense of the tax-payers"—we did not merely allude to the trick of "obtaining money under false pretences" or "conspiring with others for that purpose," etc. We gave an illustration or two like the following:

"Some birds (*aves*) we would also place under his jurisdiction, although not those *that could be plucked by throwing chaff in their eyes*, such as the *anseres Hibernici*, vulgarly called Irish geese. This interesting but short-sighted species *we should rather keep out of his way*; but in their stead we would give him some specimens of the genus *gallus*, which might include the *gallina quæstura* (chamberlain's hen), a bird whose chief characteristic, according to Pliny and other naturalists, is to set up an *enormous cackle*, wonderfully similar to the braying of the donkey, *when her maw is so well filled that she can afford to give a few small*

crumbs to the bantams and goslings at whose expense she fattens; whereas, while stuffing herself and her greedy brood, she is as dumb as an owl at mid-day!"

We think we need not give any more extracts to show that in our article on the Central Park we did not consider Mr. Sweeny merely as an ignorant and destructive horticulturist? Had we regarded him only in this light, we would have applied the salve and not the lancet, for ignorance, although a thing to be deplored, especially in a public functionary, is not best cured by stripes or cantharides. But, strange though it may seem at first sight, precisely because it was the latter remedies that were indicated by the prevailing symptoms, we were assailed not only by the patient himself, but by all his subsidized friends and retainers, the former doing his part as usual, under a mask, assassin-like.

We have already alluded to the newspaper mob by which we were set upon, and which included all the hired organs of the Ring in town and country. It is but fair to say that although the *World* is sometimes placed in that category, it took no part, so far as we are aware, in the work of abusing us for daring to warn the public against so great and honest a statesman as Mr. Peter B. Sweeny, although the following is the style in which we invoked its aid:—

"Must the World remain dumb because, although aware that it is evidently as absurd, if not as cruel, to entrust Sweeny with the care of the trees and shrubs at the Central Park, as it would be to *entrust the wolf with the care of the sheep and lambs*, still it is bound to remember that that personage is a very smart fellow at election time, when he boasts that in spite of press or pulpit he carries the Irish vote in his pocket?"

As for the *Herald*, far from defending Sweeny or the Ring against our charges in relation to the Central Park, it immediately placed the substance of them before its readers in an editorial, embodying extracts from the obnoxious article, at the same time calling attention to our appeal to the daily and weekly press to restrain the spoiler, and adding that the case should be investigated, and that it was incumbent on the Ring to disprove our charges if unjust; but that if Central Park was

receiving any such treatment as that once beautiful park—the Washington Parade Ground—had already received, such vandalism should at once be stopped, as we claimed. But this was not the only way in which the Herald contributed to expose the Ring in this case. Instead of defending any of its members, when the mayor attacked us in its columns in defence of Mr. Sweeny, but without making any attempt to refute our charges —his only argument being that we were actuated by vindictive motives—we called on young Mr. Bennett, to ask whether we should be permitted to reply to his honor. Mr. Bennett unhesitatingly said: "Certainly; give me your reply and it shall appear to-morrow morning." He kept his word to the letter; not one word of our letter was suppressed; and we think we may add that in the mind of every impartial man and woman it not only completely vindicated us, but plunged the Ring "brains" deeper into the mire than ever. As soon as our letter was before the public we were entirely satisfied; although we saw that to which it was a reply reproduced in all the Ring organs, while it was inserted as an advertisement, at the expense of the tax-payers in the respectable journals which would not admit it on any other terms.

It is almost needless to say that the *Times* refused to admit the Ring proclamation against us for portraying its "brains" to the life, except as an advertisement. But this was not the only way in which that journal served the cause of justice and truth, and contributed by doing so to our vindication. Let that pass, however, until we proceed a little further. In short, so far as we are informed, the only paper having the slightest pretensions to respectability or decency that joined in the base howl against us was that whose motto is, or at least ought to be "*You lie, villain, you lie, and you know it.*" The journal alluded to is so well known by this legend that it is needless to mention the title it gives itself. Suffice it to say, therefore, that its slang abuse of us in defence of the innocent, fearless, and incorruptible "Brains" Sweeny did us no more harm than the braying of a donkey for an equal length of time would have done.*

* It will be admitted that we did not expect much from the journal to which we applied as follows; so that its abuse, coars as it was, did not in

But before passing on to another branch of our subject, we think it fair to remark that however reprehensible was the conduct of Mayor Hall in attacking us in the strange manner he did, we soon learned that it was vastly less so than that of Mr. Sweeny. The difference was as great as that between the individual who conceals himself behind a ditch in the darkness of the night so that he may assassinate with impunity the person who has rendered himself obnoxious to him, and the one who makes his attack openly before the world, in the broad light of day, and has no further spite. Thus, asking the reader to bear in mind in justice to all parties, that although pugilism is a thing not to be recommended, at worst it is not so bad as thuggism, we proceed to illustrate the maxim that seldom is any one so violently assailed for criticising the great and pure, but that, sooner or later, he may expect his case to be still worse.

There are few men of whom it may not be said with tolerable plausibility that his virtue has not always been equal to that of a virgin, or of Cæsar's wife. When it has been impossible to bolster up any other accusation against a man, this has been resorted to in all ages as something that will at least give annoyance. Even the saints have been subjected to this species of persecution—especially the most illustrious of them; such as St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine. All the pious biographers of the "Angel of the Schools" inform us that he had to use a red-hot iron to prevent ladies from entering his private room. As we have never pretended to be a saint, we never have had this terrible dread of womankind; nor shall we in

---

the least surprise us; and yet we should have known nothing about it had it not been enclosed to us in an envelop:—

"Then our little luminary no longer shines in that direction; it seems that, unlike the orb from which it borrows its name, it has its dark side, which it occasionally uses *as a cloak for its new friends.* Hence it is, we suppose, that what was all *blubber* only a few months ago is now all "Brains;" a phenomenon which reminds us of a certain learned professor who spent half his life in denouncing *pork* as a very unwholesome and rather *disgusting* sort of food, but suddenly discovered, in *some mysterious way*, that, after all, it was just the thing—better than beef or mutton—especially for persons of delicate constitution supposed to have the scrofulous taint. True, the pork *was pork still*, and nobody but our philosopher could see that *its essential properties had undergone any change.*"—*C. Park U. R. L. Rule.*

the future. Nay, we confess that we prefer the society of a cultivated, intelligent woman to that of a man, but think as little of the society of a woman who is not cultivated, or intelligent, as we do of that of a man of the same character. If this be a "mortal sin," we fear we shall be sinners as long as we live.

But our readers are aware that we have never lost confidence in the judges, or jurists of our *higher* courts; and we had equal faith in the general integrity of the class who compose our grand juries. In short we had not the least doubt that after all "fair play" was as strong a sentiment with our judiciary as with any other in the world.

Now, as further evidence that we do not make statements in regard to our public men because others do so, but form our own opinions and express them, even when they happen to be in conflict with the almost general sentiment of the public, we turn back to some of our views regarding our judges. It can hardly be said that we expected any patronage from this source; and since we had resided nearly twenty years in New York without having any charge made against us in any of its courts, high or low, it would be equally absured to pretend that we had fear of them. The truth is that we spoke of them just as we did of the judges and courts of England, or those of France and Germany—that is, for the purpose of disseminating correct views and removing prejudices so far as it was in our power to do so. In a word, we have refrained from attacking our judges for the same reason that we refrained from attacking the former commissioners of the Central Park—namely, because we thought they did not deserve it. We might go back for years to find illustrations of these remarks in different numbers of our journal, but we need not go farther than that for March, 1870, a copy of which is now before us. Turning to an article entitled "Our Criminals and our Judiciary" we read as follows:—

"It will be admitted that we never shrink from criticising whatever we think deserves to be criticised in our country; we think it will also be admitted that we never criticise any particular institution, individual, party, or sect, because it happens to be popular to do so. In other

words, we do not assail a party, *because they are assailed by a whole crowd;* to do so when there is at least some doubt as to the party assailed being guilty of the offence laid to their charge, would be unmanly as well as unjust on our part.

"This is our view of the hue-and-cry which is so popular at the present moment against our judiciary. Far be it from us to maintain that all our judges are immaculate; on the contrary, we hold that several of them are incompetent for the positions they occupy; but in our opinion *the majority of the judges of our higher courts will compare favorably both in ability and intelligence with the judges of the corresponding courts in any of the great cities of Europe.*"

Many even of those who believed this to be just, regarded it as unduly bold at the time; but that we were bolder still, the following paragraph from the same article will show:

"But who can give the European judges credit for similar cosmopolitan liberality? Without any disposition to misrepresent them, or do them injustice, we certainly cannot. We confess we do not know any European judge more liberal in this respect than the one who, of all our New York judges, is most blamed; namely, Judge Barnard, of the supreme court: nor have we ever known a European judge to dispose of so large a number of motions in chambers in two or three hours as the same gentleman. Much has been said and written of the sallies of wit by which some of the most distinguished European jurists have enlivened the proceedings of their courts; but if there be any who doubt that an American judge can be witty, and use his wit with excellent effect, generally pleasing everybody except the constitutional grumbler, without in the least violating the decorum which should characterize the bench, but which, it should be remembered, is different from that of the pulpit or the communion tab'e—they must go to see Judge Barnard."

We defy any one to say that we had any selfish motive in giving this estimate of Judge Barnard. And who denies the manliness and impartiality of that gentleman now? There is yet another paragarph in that article which will bear repetition; we mean the following:

"Judge Jones, of the superior court, is different from Judge Barnard; as much so as Judge Ingraham, the colleague of the latter. Jones and Ingraham compare favorably with the most dignified and thoughtful of the English judges of the present day; and we feel convinced *that they are as conscientious and honest.* Nor should it be forgotten that Judge Daly, of the common pleas, Judge Spencer, of the superior court, and Judge Cardozo, of the supreme court, have each peculiar merits as jurists, which entitle them to rank with the judges of any other city or country."

Since these remarks were penned, we have travelled in several of the principal countries of Europe, and although we were present at some remarkable trials in the highest courts, we saw no reason to alter the above comparisons, or to arrive at any different conclusion than that embraced in the last paragraph of the same article:

"Thus a fearful epidemic prevails, arising from the various causes we have named; its ravages are greater in New York than in other cities, because it is more populous than any other American city, and because a large class of its heterogeneous inhabitants are more predisposed than others; and because the physicians do not put as many to death as possible in order to cure the remainder of those affected, it follows that they must be ignorant and corrupt!"

It may be observed that at no time have we spoken of our judges without alluding to some exceptions. We had in our mind an individual or two of the lower courts, who, we had been assured, would do just as they were told by their masters. We made a similar distinction in an incidental reference to the judiciary in our article on "Party Strife," and we have since had reason to believe that in regard to the exceptions, also, our information was perfectly correct:

"Now, we have a high opinion of the judiciary of Boston; we make no accusation whatever against it; nor have we ever done so; but we are convinced that if the two cities exchanged their judges to-morrow, assuming they could do so, in a short time our Boston judges would have as bad a name as ever our own judges had, and we are equally convinced that the most intelligent of the Bostonians, too, would soon begin to say to each other, 'It is evident, after all, that those New York judges were wronged. We have had them now for so long, and there has hardly been an instance in which they can be said to have discharged their functions otherwise than in an impartial and honest manner.' There might be a few exceptions; for, indeed, *there are some of our judges whom we could not recommend to the most benighted village in our western country; but these do not belong to our higher courts, and it is not fair that the latter should be held responsible for their conduct.*"

We think we have now shown that we have tried to treat the good, bad, and indifferent, according to their respective merits, without regard to their positions; and that, although we make no claim to infallibility, our impressions in reference to each grade have, in general, proved pretty correct in the long run. As it was said that we did injustice to Sweeny, so it was

said that we gave credit to some of our judges for qualities which they did not possess. But recent proceedings show in one case what recent disclosures show in the other; so that those who disagreed with us most in each, without being prejudiced, when we first gave our impressions, now do us the honor of admitting that we were entirely right. The event has shown that we were also right in believing that although "lower" judges may be ready to do anything their masters tell them, there is, fortunately, still a limit to the power of both; for two grand juries—chosen from among the class of our citizens among whom we have lived for nearly two decades, and composed chiefly of husbands, and fathers of families—refused in turn to accept the story of our lack of virtue and lack of respect for female modesty while attending to our business in our office. So far as we are aware, we have never to this day seen Recorder Hackett, Judge Bedford, or Judge Garvin; but the reputation of those gentlemen had satisfied us that we should be entirely safe in their hands; and the promptness with which they discharged our recognizances on being called upon by our counsel to do so, while we were far off in the country, shows that we did not overestimate their integrity, and fidelity to their trust.

Mr. Hall is the only mayor that has ever treated us otherwise than politely. All his predecessors for ten years, whether democratic or republican, we had found at least courteous. Certainly Mayor Gunther formed no exception; nor did Mayor Opdyke. As for Mr. Hoffman, we do not believe he could treat any one discourteously. Whatever may have been the faults of Mayor Wood, he, too, knew how to treat even those who criticised his official acts in a manner becoming his position as the chief magistrate of New York. But, although Mayor Hall distinguished himself from all by assailing us without our having ever disobliged him, in any way, further than to have criticised one of his associates; yet, as already intimated, his conduct was noble and manly compared to that of the functionary in whose behalf he made his onslaught upon us.

We will here state the reason why we think so, in order that

the reader may be able to judge for himself whether we are right, or wrong. Having been assured by several gentlemen whose veracity we could not question, that certain members of the Ring were resolved to persecute us as much as possible, except we pledged ourselves not to make any more attacks, we were induced by some friends to write a note to Mr. Hall, and another to Mr. Sweeny, remonstrating with them against a course of conduct at once so outrageous and so injudicious. The mayor, notwithstanding the severe castigation we had inflicted on him in our recent published reply to his letter, wrote promptly, assuring us that he had no wish, or intention to harm us. But, true to his character as we have ourselves faithfully portrayed it, Mr. Sweeny remained as relentless and implacable as ever his prototype Sarpi, or Borgia was. Soon after we ascertained—what we had all along suspected—that it was not Hall but Sweeny that set the Ring editors and correspondents to work both as vilifiers and puffers. Although he neither issued their orders nor paid their hire directly to this large tribe, all knew that both came from "Brains" Sweeny;* and hence it was that that individual became so great a statesman and so pure and disinterested a patriot all of a sudden that he was declared throughout the country to be just the man to be the next President of the United States.

* Mr. Dudley Field can say whether it was the "brains" that sent him to buy the Review or not. If he says it was James Fisk, Jr., or somebody else, then we have other facts so strange that they would have seemed incredible to the public six months ago; for there was another buying ambassador a remarkably short time before Mr. Field. The former is what is vulgarly called an "Irish Yankee," also a democrat of a certain grade, and a nominal Catholic. We call him "nominal" because he is one of that class who think that the only good priests, or good teachers, are the Jesuits, and that the chief goodness of the Jesuits consists in their skill in politics, and the happy use they make of that skill in various ways—especially in securing prominent positions for such of their pupils as are worthy of them. Did we mention the name of this pupil – one who graduated with all the honors,—and then describe some of his efforts to *force* us into a bargain, we think our Catholic readers would agree with us that however worthy he may be of his tutors, his worthiness in relation to the Catholic church is pretty nearly on a par with that of our great Ring-Leader. If any doubt that we give as true an account of this embassy as we did of that of Mr. Field—except that in the former case we omit the darker and more slimy features—we can easily convince them, if they are capable of being convinced.

Notwithstanding the judicial censure passed on Mr. Connolly, while Mr. Sweeny still succeeds in concealing his knavery from the eye of the law, we are as much convinced now as we were a year or two years ago that the former has a hundred fold more honesty, or less rascality in his composition than the latter. True we could not now compare Mr. Connolly to so exemplary a public officer as Mr. Brennan, our present sheriff, as we have on former occasions, when we felt assured that he, too, was a faithful public servant; although we still think it will be found, on a full examination, that his frauds—if he has really committed any on his own account,—have been much exaggerated. But assuming that he is guilty of all, even then we should emphatically deny that he is so thorough and incorrigible a knave as the boasted "power behind the throne;" although as any one can see, estimates like the following from the *Times*—and in which, it is almost superfluous to say, we entirely concur—merely corroborate what we said in December and March last:

"Sweeny, the Mephistopheles of the gang, must be among the first to be driven out of place and power. *He has filled the City offices with his worthless relatives. He has had his arms thrust to the elbows in every dirty job.* And to think of keeping a sly rascal like this in a post of honor, while his dupes are kicked out, only because they are less cunning than himself!"

In remarking that all that is new to our readers in this is the attempted kicking out of Sweeny's dupes, it is far from our intention to detract one iota from the well-earned credit due to the Times for its manly and fearless expositions. We readily admit that to try to do so would ill-become us, above all others, for we can never forget that on the very day we were pounced upon by the wolf, the Times nobly put the public on its guard, plainly referring it to the animal's portrait as drawn to the life in our pages. Never have we seen a grander illustration of the power of the press, for, infuriated as the blood-thirsty brute was, he relaxed his fangs at once and slunk back growling into his den.

But let us do justice to the Herald also. If those great rivals occasionally attack each other almost as fiercely as the lion and the tiger, that is no reason why we should not appreciate the merits of each. The fable of the oak and the hemlock would illustrate this. It is much more philosophical to estimate the good qualities

of each tree than to blame either for not being like the other. If one taxpayer is slower than another in believing that our public functionaries are public robbers, that is no reason why his testimony should not be good when he finally becomes convinced. Nay, it must be admitted that the best testimony is that given on mature reflection, after the witness has examined all the facts; and accordingly we extract the following from the Herald of September 23:

"There seems to be little doubt that some of the Tammany Ring have used the public money to enrich themselves. There is reason to suspect, indeed, *that they have stolen, directly or indirectly, large sums and put them into their own pockets.* * * * * Adding a cipher to a bill of forty thousand dollars against the city and making it four hundred thousand dollars, either by the connivance or not of the claimant, was too palpable a fraud—was, *in fact, downright robbery.*"

It is true that there is no mention in this of "brains"; but our readers must know by this time that most, if not all, the knavish ciphering has been done "behind the throne." That is precisely the sort of "science" for which we gave Mr. Sweeny the chief credit in December and March last; and we think he has not at all relaxed his researches in it up to the present time.

But there is one other little circumstance, of which we beg leave to remind our readers. Six months ago we made yet another comparison; it ran thus: "Sweeny and his retainers affect to hold ex-Sheriff O'Brien in great contempt. O'Brien, we believe, does not pretend to be a Solon, or a Pericles, or to have more "brains" than all his colleagues put together; but we think that whatever his faults may be, he is an *honest man;* and this, we imagine, is more than can be said of the *Hon.* Peter B. Sweeny." May we not claim that in this instance also time has fully vindicated our impressions?

As to the story of our patronage from the city government it is easily told, and if we tell it incorrectly it will be still easier to contradict us. We have never asked, directly or indirectly, the advertising of the board of aldermen, or of the board of assistant-aldermen; nor have we ever been so ambitious as to wish it. We have never desired any further patronage than that of such departments as are in the habit of making an-

nouncements to the respectable classes of our citizens at the times we issue our different numbers. In a word, we have desired nothing more than has been cheerfully and courteously given us, in turn, by the honorable secretaries of President Lincoln, President Johnson, and President Grant, and by of their esteemed subordinates in this city.

Then as to the charge: we have never sent a bill to the city government for our full published rate. We have required that rate from the federal government and have been paid it without abuse or insult. Even the financial agents of the latter, who might be excused for higgling about rates, far from objecting to ours, politely offer us the highest we ever ask from any one. Nay, private citizens have paid us uninterruptedly for years a higher rate than we have ever charged in any bill furnished to the city government. This is true, for example, of the Messrs. Steinway, the justly famous piano manufacturers—gentlemen whose integrity has never been questioned. It is true of several merchants, and of several first class colleges, as well of those insurance companies, banks, and other institutions that most enjoy and best deserve the public confidence.

Now, will it be believed that from any of these honorable sources we have derived far more than we have ever derived from the plunderers of Tammany, or, through any channel, from the city treasury? Such, however, is the fact. It is also a fact that, whereas our little bills were paid with quite as much regularity as we had any right to expect, up to the time that we dared to put the public on its guard against our municipal "brains," we have never since received one penny of what is justly due to us. We have, however, continued to insert the announcements of such departments as had authorized us to do so, feeling satisfied that there is honor and principle enough even among the politicians of this great city, to prevent our being cheated even out of our reduced rates, because we ventured to unmask a knave in time, and caused the finger of scorn to point exactly in the right direction.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES-LETTERS.

Faust, a Tragedy. By JOHANN WOLFGANG von GOETHE. *Translated in the Original Metres.* By BAYARD TAYLOR. (First and Second Parts). 2 vols. royal 8vo. Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1871.

IT is highly commendable that so many of our *literati* are turning their attention to translation. To interpret well a first-class foreign author, is a better work than most of them can do when attempting something original. The *Faust* of Goethe is undoubtedly a great work, but it is extremely faulty in form, and much of it is objectionable in matter. Mr. Taylor's translation, taken as a whole, is the best that we have seen: still, after a tolerably thorough examination of it, we must aver that the genuine Faust of the strong-souled Goethe has never yet been well rendered into English.

It is only a great mind that can interpret, through a foreign language, the revealing work of another great one; only the strong man can handle the weapons, for a satisfactory exhibition, of a powerful athlete. The strength of Goethe's nature, few are fitted to appreciate; and the Faust is Goethe himself. Mr. Taylor is an industrious and conscientious writer, and is as thorough a master of the German language as a foreigner can well become. He possesses one first requisite of a translator—after knowledge of the language from which he translates, the most important one, perhaps—devotion and fidelity to his subject. He is bound up in Goethe, for the time being, and would lose his own individuality to comprehend his master. That he has not fully appreciated and perfectly reproduced him, is due only to the fact that, passive and susceptible as he is to the influence to which he yields himself, his mind and temperament are not such as can be moulded to the Goethean model. This is far from being intended as a reflection upon Mr. Taylor as a man; it reflects upon him in no way except as a translator of Faust.

Of the First Part of Faust there were many translations previous to this; of the Second Part four or five. The rendering by Mr. Brooks of the First Part was perhaps the best until the completion of this work by Mr. Taylor. At first we were inclined to decide that the version of Mr. Brooks had not been improved upon, and even yet we are not positive that we ought to give the preference to Mr. Taylor's translation. Mr. Brooks possesses more freedom and daring, and in some respects a better natural aptitude to enter into the spirit of the original than his rival. On the other hand, Mr. Taylor is more thoroughly acquainted with the German language; he is more painstaking, and adheres with greater fidelity to the form of the work. His exactness in

this latter respect is what he claims as his chief excellence. An excellence it certainly is, and, as he has developed it, one for which he deserves praise. Form was little with Goethe; yet to represent him fairly, it is necessary to follow him in his moody and capricious changes.

In our critical examination of passages in this work we have noted many things to commend and to blame; about as many of one kind as of the other, and more of both than we can transfer to our printed page. We will begin, as the poem proper does, with the opening chorus of the "Prologue in Heaven,"—the "astonishing chorus," as Shelley calls it.

> "Die Sonne tönt nach alter Weise,
> In Brudersphären Wettgesang,
> Und ihre vorgeschrieb'ne Reise
> Vollendet sie mit Donnergang."

Mr. Taylor's version of this seems to us lacking somewhat in "lyric fire," though it is as literal, perhaps, as a rhythmical and rhymed translation could be made.

> "The sun-orb sings in emulation,
> 'Mid brother-spheres, his ancient round:
> His path predestined through Creation
> He ends with step of thunder-sound."—(p. 13).

We much prefer the rendering of Shelley, who more nearly reproduces the spirit, though far less faithful to the form of the original.

> "The sun makes music as of old
> Amid the rival spheres of heaven,
> In its predestined circle rolled
> With thunder speed."*
>
> "Still quiring as in ancient time
> With brother spheres in rival song,
> The sun with thunder-march sublime
> Moves his predestined course along."

Mr, Taylor's rendering of what in the original is simply "the sun" into "the sun-orb," and a "thunder-step," (or "thunder-march,") into "step of thunder-*sound*," might not, perhaps, be improved while preserving the measure, but we believe it possible. The concluding lines of the chorus are not good.

> "And all thy works, sublime and splendid,
> Are bright as in Creation's hour."—(p. 14).*
>
> *"Und all deine hohen werke
> Sind herrlich wie am ersten Tag."

"Sublime *and* splendid," is an anticlimax which Goethe's simple adjective *hohen* (high, lofty) in no degree justifies. As we have commenced finding fault—though in no fault-finding spirit—we will note

* Compare also the version of Anna Swanwick, whose translation of the first part of Faust has little that is praiseworthy except in some of the lyrical passages:

some more of the errors which we have marked in this First Part. Mr. Taylor translates,

"Welch erbärmlich Grauen
Fasst Uebermenschen dich!"

by

"What mean perturbation
Thee, superhuman, shakes?"—(p. 28).

which will not do for an English construction. He is altogether too anxious to render his author literally. Mephistopheles is permitted to ask,

"Might I, perhaps, depart at present?"—(p. 77).
(Dürfte ich wohl diesmal mich entfernen).

which is tautological and absurd. On page 195 we have "sensibler," and on page 224 the line,

"One sees that in nothing no interest he hath,"

though we cannot perceive that Goethe intended his Gretschen to use what would be in German such an intolerable double-negative as it is in English. Mr. Taylor claims that if he has taken liberties with our vernacular, Goethe has done so with the German. Had the translator given equivalent solecisms for the German we could not complain. He has not done so, and has surely no right to ask us to excuse an error in one place because Goethe admitted an irregularity in another. Many of the lyrical pieces (most of them, perhaps we should say) are very well translated, and give as satisfactory an impression of the peculiarities of German versification as could well be conveyed in English. We quote the "Chorus of Angels:"

"Christ is arisen!	Christ ist erstanden!
Joy to the Mortal One,	Freunde dem Sterblichen,
Whom the unmerited,	Den die verderblichen,
Clinging, inherited	Schleichenden, erblichenden
Needs did imprison."(p. 40).	Mängel umwanden.

And again from the song of the spirits which soothed Faust to slumbers.

"Vanish, ye darkling	Schwindet, ihr dunkeln
Arches above him!	Wohlbungen droben!
Loveliest weather	Reizender schaue
Born of blue ether,	Freundlich, der blaue
Break from the sky!"—(p. 81.)	Aether herein!

"Weather" is a weak word in its place, but we must not ask too much. The wierd scene of the "Walpurgis-Night," is well rendered, not, we think, with so fine an appreciation of the witchery of the original as Shelley displays, but with greater fidelity. The "Walpurgis-Night's Dream," is admirably translated.

Particular praise is due to Mr. Taylor for his rendering of the Second Part of Faust. He is the first who has written in English that has seemed to have a fair appreciation of this portion of Goethe's work. His prefatory remarks upon this part of the poem show that he understands

it, which is saying much for him. The knowledge that this portion was generally depreciated has evidently led Mr. Taylor to bestow even greater pains upon it than upon the First Part. He has produced a version which is in the main so excellent, that we hesitate to point out the few errors we think we have discovered. Goethe himself has said that the First Part of Faust was designed to be "almost wholly subjective." For this reason it has been, and probably always will be more popular than the Second Part, which deals with life from a higher standpoint, and attempts to represent the world at certain periods as in a puppet-show, but with suggestions of a higher destiny for man. Goethe did not accomplish all he designed; it was not in him to be sufficiently earnest and benevolent. It was more natural for him to trifle than to be serious; to look at mankind with a cold intellectuality rather than through the medium of a loving heart. Hence the Faust, with all its admirable insight, will never be a satisfactory work; it will never come home to the hearts and lives of the people. One episode, only, that of Margaret, is simple, natural and true. We have marked many passages of Mr. Taylor's rendering of this Second Part which we regard as beautiful, and should like to extract, but must content ourselves with this one:

"When around the sea-girt meadow
Balm the tepid winds exale,
Then in fragrance and in shadow
Twilight spreads her misty veil."—(p. 4).

Wenn sich lau die Lüfte füllen
Um den grünumschränkten Plan
Süsse, Düfte, Nebelhüllen,
Senkt die Dämmerung heran.

A fine Goethean rendering is that of these lines

"Terribly calling, heard I the iron
Accents of Discord clang through the field,
City-wards."—(p. 235.)

We cite this the more gladly as there are too few specimens of a terse and expressive translation which does justice to the original. The faults in this second portion are few in comparison with those in the First Part; yet faults there are.

"Denn unsre Kappen,
Jahen und un Lappen
Sind leicht zu tragen."

is badly rendered,

"Our caps though sleazy,
And jackets breezy
To wear are easy."—(p. 95).

"Sleazy" is not a good word, and there is no adjective at all in the original. Mr. Taylor often introduces antiquated, or not well authorized English words to represent very simple German ones.

"Round my feet I saw it fare."—(p. 49).
(Ward ich's doch am Fuss gewahr).

It would, doubtless be too much to expect that the antithetical excel-

lence of the following lines could be rendered into English, and Mr. Taylor has not well succeeded, though he has made an honest effort:

"Ein neuer Narr—Zu neuer Pein—	Another fool—for worries new!—
Wo-kommt er her—wie kam er ein—	Whence came he? How did he get through?
Der alte fiel—der hat verthan—	The old one fell—he's walked his path—
Es war ein Fass—Nun ist's ein Span."	*He* was a barrel—this, a lath!"

We believe we have quoted enough to indicate both the excellences and the defects of this version of Faust. In speaking of the latter we do not wish to leave the impression that we condemn the translation, or that we do not properly appreciate Mr. Taylor's efforts to give us a conscientious and faithful rendering of a poem which, with all its faults, is well worthy of study.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of Greece. I. Legendary Greece. II. Grecian History to the Reign of Peisistratus at Athens. By GEORGE GROTE, Esq. Reprinted from the second London edition. 12 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

THE recent death of Mr. Grote has called especial attention to his History, which, as the volumes severally appeared, was greeted with diverse expressions of opinion as to its merits. Gradually, however, the work has won its way, even with those who were at first unfavorably impressed with it, until at the author's death, it is universally admitted to occupy the first rank among historical productions—to hold a place beside the master-pieces of Gibbon and Niebuhr.

Grote was an extraordinary man in many respects. His father was a member of the banking house of Prescott, Grote & Co., which was founded by the grandfather of the historian. Destined for a commercial life, the author of this work received what is regarded in England as only a moderate school education, though it comprised the foundation of classical scholarship. This schooling he obtained at the Charter House. That he was not a member of a University was made a great reproach to him by those who did not at first recognize the merits of his history. One Shilleto attacked him upon an alleged lack of technical knowledge of Greek, and thanked heaven that he was not a member of either of the English universities. This animadversion, which many at the time thought well founded, has been recently remembered with derision, and has brought its author into unenviable notice. That a man may be learned without having acquired his education in what has been regarded as the regular way, does not admit of question; indeed, many of the best scholars have been self-taught, and erudition

thus obtained is apt to be more thorough than that derived through the routine drilling of the schools.

Mr. Grote, while devoting his time during business hours to the affairs of the bank, employed his leisure, night and morning, in the cultivation of letters. In this way he became remarkably erudite. His acquaintance with Greek authors was extraordinarily extended, and that his investigations of the sources of Greek history were very accurate, no one now denies. He commenced to collect the materials for his History of Greece in 1823. He devoted himself to this, as the work of his life, with untiring assiduity. He was for a time diverted from his Hellenic labors by his interest in politics. A disciple and personal friend of Mill, he had early become a liberal. He earnestly advocated parliamentary reform, and had published a pamphlet upon the subject in 1821. He was elected to parliament as member for the city of London, where he served with ability from 1832 to 1841, especially distinguishing himself by his advocacy of the ballot. The two first volumes of his history of Greece appeared in 1846, and the last in 1856.

His History is the production of a statesman and a scholar rather than of a professional writer It is distinguished by broadness of views and extreme liberality of opinions. The style is not attractive, though plain and sufficiently expressive. Mr. Grote was not a thoroughly cultivated rhetorician; he cared more for the matter than the manner of his work. He viewed the Hellenes from the standpoint of the statesman rather than of the poet. In this respect his work is an anomaly, but not the less useful for that reason, supplying, as it does, a want in our Grecian histories. His opinions upon the literature and mythology of the Greek races are of little value, but his insight into their politics is admirable. He cares nothing for tradition; he wants facts, and such as are attainable he uses to excellent purpose. He discards all the old mythological legends; hence he is compelled to regard all that is related of the history of Greece previous to the establishment of the Dorians on the Peloponnesus as fabulous and unworthy of his attention. As his object was to draw certain inferences from clearly established facts, we cannot object to this method of treatment, though we may at the same time believe that in the old myths are hidden valuable truths, whose import will in time be ascertained. Comparative philology, mythology and ethnology have been doing much of late, and are destined to do much more, as they have just begun to shed their light upon legendary epochs.

It is not easy to draw a parallel between Mr. Grote's work and any other history of Greece. Mitford's is not worthy of mention in comparison. Bishop Thirlwall's has many excellences, and in some respects is even superior, yet, on the whole, it falls so much behind as to deserve to be almost entirely superseded. The history of Dr. Curtius is the only

one which can be claimed to rank with that of Grote. The style of Curtius is superior; he is doubtless the better technical scholar; his work is more artistically written. Yet he was not so practical a man as Grote; he had not equal breadth of views; he is a far less vigorous thinker. The one is a scholar, drawing his inspiration chiefly from books; the other is a statesman and man of the world, who has studied men, and can philosophically trace the social and political development of a race.

It was the Athenian commonwealth that principally attracted Mr. Grote, and he is the first who has well appreciated this extraordinary people. He traces their political development with a master's hand. We should expect that his democratic principles would incline him in this direction. Certainly we have no reason to complain of the prominence he gives in his history to the nation of Pericles and Demosthenes. The Greeks, he believed, were the only progressive people of their time; democracy was a natural outgrowth, and was only overthrown by the semi-barbarous military power of Alexander, as the Roman Empire was afterward destroyed by the roving Western hordes. All that was excellent in the Hellenes was represented in the Athenian commonwealth in its palmy days.

A man like Mr. Grote should be studied and appreciated by Americans, to whom his career offers a most worthy example. His liberality of opinions, his faith in democracy, where the people are sufficiently enlightened, endears him to us. His industry, and the vast amount he accomplished, are a very valuable lesson to such a nation of money-makers as we are. How many of our business men think they can afford time for even ordinary intellectual culture? How often do we hear such men excuse themselves for the grossest ignorance, by the plea that they have no time for study? Yet the same men will waste in reading their daily newspapers, with their detailed accounts of crimes, casualties, political chicanery, and horse and base-ball notes, time that, if more valuably employed, might make them well-informed upon matters of more enduring consequence. Mr. Grote was a business man, and, we understand, a thorough one, yet he found time to become one of the best scholars of his day, and to build for himself a stable literary monument.

It is an objection to Mr. Grote's work, in the minds of many, that he adopts the German method of spelling Greek names. It is true that it is more conformable to the original orthography, but the innovation is not pleasing to any English reader.

Assuming this, and his disregard of the comparative method, to be defects, they are slight ones. They do not prevent any competent judge from admitting that the library of any scholar, writer, or educator, whose vernacular is the English, cannot be considered complete with-

out a copy of Grote's History; and we are glad to see that the American publishers have brought out a complete edition at a price which places it within the reach of all of ordinary means.

A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, Living and Deceased, from the earliest Accounts to the latter Half of the Nineteenth Century. Containing over forty-six thousand Articles (Authors), with forty Indexes of Subjects. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 3 vols., royal 8vo. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

MR. ALLIBONE has reason to congratulate himself upon the completion of his laborious enterprise. And now, when the work is before us, and we are glad to acknowledge its utility, we are still somewhat in doubt as to what we should say to the author and the public respecting its execution. There was no publication extant, containing in moderate compass a tithe of the information embraced in these volumes. Facts about authors and their writings have not been attainable without considerable labor and research. Concerning popular writers, especially those ambitious of fame, there were sufficient biographical memoirs and dictionaries, but regarding the great mass of the less fortunate, but sometimes equally gifted and useful, many of whom we should like to know something about, it was very difficult to obtain information.

Mr. Allibone proposed to condense the obtainable facts respecting English and American authors, and to give us a work of reference embodying knowledge that could not be obtained without a library. He has furnished us with a large amount and we find no fault with him on the score of accuracy, and indeed but little on any ground. We may remark, however, that there are too many authors treated who are scarcely worth mentioning, while some are omitted who should have been included, but the instances of the latter error are very few. Of course it would be impossible to please everybody, and Mr. Allibone has a perfect right to exercise his own judgment; had he attempted to do otherwise his fate would have been as sad as that of the peasant with the donkey.

Clergymen are mentioned for the publication of a single sermon. Many who receive notice have no claim to be regarded as authors further than that they have written for newspapers and magazines. Robert Billing wrote "Carrots for Cattle;" Alexander H. Bogart, "an American poet, died before he had contributed anything of importance to the literature of the country;" Mr. Tejeda wrote a guide book for

London *in Spanish*. Mrs. Whitby published "A Manual fo Silk Worms;" Mr. A. S. Wright was the author of a receipt book; Yeo, whose Christian name is not given, and we know not whether to prefix Mr., Mrs., or Miss, wrote "The Asiatic, a Comedy, *not printed.*' This is somewhat ridiculous. Mr. Allibone might have filled his three volumes with the names only of persons quite as deserving as those and hundreds of others he has included.

Many men who are illustrious in other ways, but who were not literary, are allowed considerable space. Turner was eminent as a painter, but he published nothing, and scarcely deserved the lengthy notice Mr. Allibone accords him in a dictionary of authors. George Washington is a name universally and justly revered, and it was worthy of honorable mention here, but Washington cannot be classed as a literary man. There are many similiar specimens of considerable space devoted to persons whom Mr. Allibone admires and justly so in most cases, but who do not rank high as writers.

We fear that Mr. Allibone cannot easily escape the charge of favoritism, in some instances, or at least of an amiable weakness for his friends. He devotes too much space to persons who are barely, if at all, worthy of mention, and who, one is tempted to suspect, are such as have rendered themselves agreeable to him. He sometimes indulges in expressions of opinion respecting the merits of authors to a greater extent than is becoming in a work of this kind, which is not designed to be critical. Mr. Allibone had better have avoided subjecting himself to the reflections which his efforts in this direction are sure to provoke. Yet his critical notices are generally selected from good authorities, and in the main are such as will be permanently accepted as fair judgments of the writers to whom they relate. Still we must decidedly dissent from his criticisms upon some of our favorite authors. In the article on Byron, for example, he speaks of the association of the author of Childe Harold with Shelley, declaring that, "Both were distinguished for extraordinary poetical powers, with an apparent incapacity for logical deduction, a morbid passion for disgraceful notoriety, finding 'their glory in their shame,' and, with an insane reckiessness, contemplating the judgments of that Almighty Ruler whose precepts they set at naught." Against poor Byron, indeed, Mr. Allibone is almost as bitter as Mrs. Stowe. In his article on Bloomfield he says:

"When Lord Byron, in revenge for a deserved flagellation at the hands of Jeffrey, undertook, with that mixture of arrogance and petty malice which were his distinguishing characteristics, to turn the literary corps into the subjects of a general whipping-school, etc."

We are sorry that he indulges in these flings at the illustrious dead who have still living a large circle of admirers, and concerning whose characters there are widely conflicting opinions.

With all which we could wish were omitted—and it is not much—the work has such decided merits that we cannot but heartily commend it, as a whole. Turn to the page containing the name of any well-known author, and we find a succinct account of his life, and a list of his writings in their order, with dates, and all other information that could reasonably be expected in a work of the kind. We cite as specimens for examination, in the first volume, Bolingbroke, Butler, and Johnson. There is scarcely anything that one needs to remember relative to the lives and works of these men that Mr. Allibone does not record. His facts are well-arranged, and in general are drawn from the most reliable sources. The introduction, giving a chronological list of the principal Anglo-Saxon and English writers, with other useful matter, is of considerable value, containing, as it does, so much in so small a compass, all admirably arranged.

In short, the work is so much a desideratum to the student and writer of English, that we regret the author did not enlarge his plan to include the principal European authors of all nationalities. This could still be done and may we not hope it will? The addition of perhaps two volumes, embracing only the more or less prominent names would be sufficient. This would render Mr. Allibone's task complete, and the work would then be really invaluable.

Sir Walter Scott, the Story of his Life. By R. SHELTON MACKENZIE. 12 mo. pp. 488. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1871.

We regret that Dr. Mackenzie's Life of Scott has come into our hands too late to permit us to give it so thorough a review as we could desire. Any book by so experienced and accomplished a *litterateur* deserves attentive consideration, and the subject of the present volume is one of universal interest, while it is particularly suited to the tastes and qualifications of its author. Written for an emergency, occasioned by the recent occurence of the centennial anniversary of the great novelist's birthday, one would expect it to show some signs of hasty preparation, yet it well illustrates the Doctor's resources and powers.

It is designed as a popular volume, presenting the main facts of Scott's career, in a condensed form. The author says that he has taken Lockhart's Life of Scott as the basis of his work, as he would have used Boswell's biography had Johnson been his subject. Nevertheless he has added many important facts, and a large number of anecdotes and notices unknown to or unheeded by the versatile son-in-law of the illustrious Scotchman.

The new material which Dr. Mackenzie has produced is, much of it, of

an interesting character, as, for instance, the long-concealed letter of Miss Edgeworth concerning "Waverly." In respect to anecdotes, any one acquainted with the writer's characteristics would expect great attractions, and the reading of this book will not disappoint in that particular. There are a large number of valuable notices of Scott and his works by his contemporaries and successors. A feature of especial interest is the newly recorded facts and anecdotes respecting the various works that made such a sensation in their day.

The character of the author of Waverly is not presented under any new light. The writer of this biography is enthusiastic, but by no means extravagantly so We should hardly expect him to dwell upon the faults of his hero, yet he presents facts unflinchigly, even where they are calculated to show weaknesses. Imperfections there unquestionably were in Sir Walter's character, and perhaps the most prominent was his toadying of mere rank. That he produced many of his works under the pressure of pecuniary desire we do not think particularly discreditable. Scott liked money, but the uses to which he put it were not unworthy. As he averred, he could command any amount from his publishers, but he spent it lavishly, and was always generous and benevolent. He was a man who could be trusted not to injure himself or others with his money, and we wish that all literary men of that character, who are as industrious as Sir Walter, might be as handsomely remunerated for their labor. It was Scott's rare combination of business with literary capacity, with certain assisting circumstances, that produced such remarkable results in his case.

The arrangement of Dr. Mackenzie's narrative is especially commendable; his style is always terse and genial. Were it not that the last sheets of our present number are going to press, and neither space nor time permits of further enlargement, we should be glad to give some extracts from this volume We regard it as a very valuable biography of Scott, not by any means calculated or designed to supersede Lockhart's memoir, but excellently adapted to the wants of persons who have not the means to buy nor the time to read the more extensive work.

Mémoires Inédites de Lamartine. 1790-1815. 8vo. pp. iv, 369. Paris Hachette et Cie. 1870.

THIS autobiography of Lamartine embraces only the first twenty five years of his life. There are very few men whose personal memoirs we could wish to extend to the length that this would have done had it been completed by the illustrious author In these chapters there is such a charming freshness and *naiveté;* so much poetry and philosophy, and, above all, so much information concerning important events and men, that we are very sorry they were not continued to embrace the more active portion of the author's life.

M. de Lamartine assures us that he does not write his memoirs from pride, like J. J. Rousseau "ce fou de génie," nor from humility, like St. Augustine, "ce fou de ciel." His private reasons for exposing his own life are given in his first epigrammatic sentence: "Penser, c'est vivre; se souvenir, c'est revivre."—(p. 3). He further declares,

"I do not believe myself either the first or the last of men, I regard myself simply, as God has made me, a man ordinary and *alternatif*."—(*ib*).

This work is much more free from egotism than we should have expected; indeed there can be little criticism of it upon that ground. The aged poet seems to have given himself up to a review of the scenes of his earlier years because he found a pleasure in such retrospection, and he copies what he finds on the tablet of memory simply and unostentatiously. He almost forgets, at times, that he is relating the story of his own life; it would rather seem that he was recording the career of a youth in whom he was much interested, but who died long ago, and whose experiences he details with the fondness of a very dear friend.

He was born, he tells us, in the full tide of the French Revolution; his earliest recollections are of a father in prison and a mother confined to her house under strict surveillance; his infantile ears were greeted with the strains of the Marseillaise and shouts of "*Ca ira*" in the streets. The scenes of his early life are detailed with a fondness with which no one can find fault. He describes his surroundings, his friends and acquaintances with a nicety, and, sometimes, a picturesqueness that bring them before us as living realities. Some of these characterizations are quite humorous, as that of Virien, (pp. 103-4). His love of natural scenery is exhibited in pictures of places he visited, and some of these are exceedingly graphic and poetical, as that of Vesuvius, (p. 20, *et seq.*). In some instances, however, he goes into particulars to an extent that borders on the absurd:

"Je me levai, et après avoir passé mon pantalon, je sautai au bord de mon lit de fois j'ouvris ma fenêtre et je m' accoudai en manches de chemise et les pieds mis sur la pierre de taille de l'embrasure, etc."—(p. 336).

He describes his early loves with charming frankness, and with that delicacy which was natural to his character. The account of his amours with Mlle. Henrietta P. is better than most novels. His love-philosophy is sensible and generally shows a good heart and a pure mind. The following suggests advice which it would be well for young men to heed:

"Men do not know how reserve is a hundred times more loving than wordy license. A woman is glorified in being respected. Every sort of impudence is contempt."

M. de Lamartine's comments upon the career of the first Napoleon could not fail to be interesting. He blames the emperor for his management of affairs at Waterloo, and especially for separating Grouchy so far from the main army. He says of him, and of his conduct after the decisive battle:

"Il était l'homme du succès, dès que la fortune n'était plus avec lui, il s'abandonnait lui-même."—(p. 353).

We reiterate the expression of our regret that these memoirs do not embrace more of the active portion of M. de Lamartine's life. Perhaps, did they do so, we should find them more faulty; he should be less likely to be entirely unprejudiced then in respect to his early years. What we have in this volume is one of the most pleasing pieces of autobiography we ever read.

SCIENCE.

On the Genesis of Species. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, F. R. S. *With numerous illustrations. Second Edition.* 12mo., pp. 342. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

THE promulgation of the Darwinian theory has had, at least, the beneficial effect to stimulate inquiry among scientific men. If any complaint can be made on this ground it is that too much is likely to be said; we are in danger of being flooded with publications respecting the "origin of species," and with conflicting theories which not even scientific men can reconcile, and which laymen may, without disgrace, confess are to them only a puzzle and a distraction.

Mr. Mivart does not directly attack the Darwinian theory, but he claims that it is insufficient to account for everything which is known of the variation of animals and plants. He pays a high compliment to the authors of this theory (for there are more than one) for scientific attainments, while at the same time he conceives that they have not yet discovered all truth in connection with the subject of their investigations. He believes that science is yet to reveal some third method, between those of development and fixity of type, or special creations, some *tertium quid*, which will render plain much that is now inexplicable in both of the existing and rival theories. He hopes to do something towards the production of this catholic system, but does not as yet claim to have fully developed it. He is thoroughly orthodox, yet does not fear the results of the speculations of the Darwinians. "The prevalence of this theory," he declares, "need alarm no one, for it is, without any doubt, perfectly consistent with strictest and most orthodox Christian theology," (p. 5). As to the purposes of this treatise:

> "Its object is to maintain the position that 'Natural Selection' acts, and, indeed, must act; but that still, in order to account for the production of known kinds of animals and plants, it requires to be supplemented [by the action of some other natural law or laws as yet undiscovered."—(p. 5.)

This view of the case strikes us as sensible. The author further admits that science owes a debt of gratitude to Messrs. Darwin and Wal-

ace (p. 11). The comments upon the neck of the giraffe, the leaf-resembling animals, mimicry, etc., well sustain Mr. Mivart's position, and his arguments from these scientific premises are logically drawn. The special provisions in the case of the kangaroo (p. 47), and of flies (p. 51), are almost conclusive evidence of the imperfection of Darwinianism. Still more decisive is the inference drawn from the rattle of the rattlesnake and the expansive hood of the cobra, (pp. 55–56). How could these means of warning the intended *victims* be furnished according to the theory of natural selection? We would like to see the reply of the selectionists to this argument.

Our author's chapters upon "Evolution and Ethics," and "Theology and Evolution," are those which principally indicate the object of his treatise. He displays considerable logical power in treating these topics. "Physical science, as such," he avers, "has nothing to do with the soul of man, which is hyperphysical" (p. 321).

We feel, to conclude, that while Mr. Mivart has not added much to our scientific knowledge, he has done a great deal to show that the theories of certain speculators do not include everything that can be said respecting the laws of nature and the development of man and the lower animals.

---

1. *The Natural History of Man; being an account of the Manners and Customs of the Uncivilized Races of Men.* By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A., F. L. S., etc., etc. With new designs by Zwecker, Angas, Danby, Houdley, etc., etc. Engraved by the Brothers Dalziel. 2 vols., 8vo. London and New York: Routledge & Sons. 1870.
2. *The Illustrated Natural History.* By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A., F. L. S., etc., etc. 3 vols., 8vo. London and New York: Routledge & Sons. 1868 to 1870.

The wholesale merchants of our commercial metropolis know quite well how to get rid of unsalable goods. If a stock of cloth or a quantity of ready-made clothing is out of fashion in the city or its vicinity, it is shipped to the country, where it is supposed to be of the newest style. The more antiquated an article becomes, the farther is it necessary to remove it from the seat of commerce, in order to secure a sale; so that the most outlandish goods are readily disposed of among the miners of Nevada and Idaho. Some English publishers have taken a hint from the dealers in dry goods. America is to them a half-civilized land with a voracious appetite and ostrich-like capacity for indigestible literature. *Sartor resartus* they think as effective in respect to books as to garments among us aborigines.

The Rev. J. G. Wood published in London a compilation which he called a natural history of man and the lower animals. By all competent literary and scientific authorities on that side of the Atlantic the affair was hailed with derision. It is as much a natural history as Gil Blas is a political one. It may be an entertaining book for youth, but it certainly cannot be recommended as a reliable guide to a knowledge of animals and the uncivilized races of men. This work being scouted in England, the publishers believed that the American public, at least, could be induced to accept it in place of Buffon and Goldsmith.

The volumes are "illustrated," and that fact is relied upon to secure its sale in these States. We are presumed—and not without reason—to have a weakness for picture books. Yet, admitting that we are apt to be captivated by engravings, the publishers of this history underrate our average taste in the fine arts. It is not lofty, we concede; yet, to presume that we could be pleased with such absurd specimens of illustration as this work contains, is offensive to the taste of the most ordinary school-boy. These cuts are described at length, and their objects of interest (!) and wonderment are pointed out in detail. (See for specimen, p. 380 of vol. on "Africa," "Natural History of Man"). There is one advantage in this precise explanation of the engravings; without it, the most acute Yankee could not "guess" what the majority of them were intended to represent. The descriptions are extremely rhapsodical, and their sublime assurance implies that the pictures are enrapturing works of art.

We have given the five volumes a candid and careful examination, hoping that we should find the literary execution or the narration of facts to compensate for the inferiority of the illustrations which at once impressed us so unfavorably. We are sorry to say, that the pictures are quite as good as the writing. The author, in his introduction, speaks of the "popular and anecdotal" character of the work. "Anecdotal" it is, *ad nauseam*; we hope it is not destined to be popular as an authority. It is made up of accounts of travellers, extensive extracts from whose narratives are given. The compiler's sole aim seems to have been to take such narratives and incidents as are sensational, and calculated to excite wonderment, without regard to their authenticity. This is his idea of a "popular" work. As to the literary style, a few extracts will satisfy our readers that we do the author no injustice when we say that these volumes would not improve the taste of their readers. On page 4 of the volume (Natural History of Man) "Africa," we read of "the slight hut which enacts the part of a house." The action of a hut in a country subject to hurricanes, might be spoken of as a poetic expression, but when a "slight hut enacts the part of a house," it is altogether too much. "When the mother carries her infant to the field she *mostly*

slings it to her back"—(p. 9, *ib.*) Why does she not do it altogether? A cut on page 6 is described as a portrait of "a half-naked savage," though his entire clothing is nothing but a piece of cloth not more than half a yard square. If this barbarian is half-clothed, a yard of muslin would constitute full dress anywhere. Perhaps the reverend author's ideas of dress are derived from the first chapters of Genesis, though we are not aware that there is any authentic record of the dimensions of the fig-leaf aprons worn by the primitive couple.

We will not insult the author of any scientific treatise by comparing it to this work. The publication is a catch-penny, and there is no reason why we should not plainly say so.

The Modes of Origin of Lowest Organisms; Including a Discussion of the Experiments of M. Pasteur, and a Reply to some Statements by Professors Huxley and Tyndall. By H. CHARLTON BASTIAN. M. A., M. D., F. R. S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, etc., etc. 12mo., pp. xii, 109. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

THE question of spontaneous generation is one which has for some time excited the attention of scientific men. There seemed good grounds for the belief that the lowest organisms were sometimes developed, as in fermentation, without any previous germ. On the other hand, it is claimed that these developments are not spontaneous,—that the germ exists though it may not be discoverable by any known means. The physical theory, sustained by Baron Liebig, claims that in fermentation there is a purely chemical change, while the vital doctrine, ably advocated by M. Pasteur, maintains that such changes are the result of living organisms. The writer of this treatise favors the views of Baron Liebig, yet he denies the universality of the application of the formula "omne vivum ex vivo," and adduces so many proofs of his position and in favor of spontaneous generation, that we are in doubt as to his precise standing as respects this question. What he believes he attempts to tell us in saying that "some representatives of every kind of organism are capable of reproducing similar organisms," (p. 3).

Dr. Bastian avers that the *Bacteria* and *Torulæ* "may arise *de novo* in certain fluids containing organic matter, independently of preexisting living things" (p. 4). His account of experiments and his presentation of arguments in favor of his views are able and interesting. He presents the four different theories respecting the production of these organisms, with the facts sustaining each. It is only scientific men who will follow these details with especial interest or profit. We believe that the treatise of Dr. Bastian would have been considerably improved had he

read a paper by M. Crenberg, "Summary of Researches since 1847, on organic germs, invisible to the naked eye, suspended in the air," recently published in the "Contes Rendus Mensuels de l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin,"

Concerning the prevalence of germs in the atmosphere, Dr. Bastian declares that, after all that has been said, we have yet no definite knowledge upon the point (pp. 30-31). Yet he does not deny the possibility of the existence of such germs, and presents facts to show that it is highly probable (p. 33). The record of the author's experiments (pp. 67-92) is very interesting, and of considerable scientific value. His conclusions are that "fermentative and putrefactive changes are merely processes of chemical rearrangement," and that his experiments "lend no support to the idea that the air is so thickly laden with living germs as some would have us suppose," yet that they are "really capable of being evolved *de novo*" (pp. 107-8). The work is well written, and shows evidence of being done by the hand of a trained student of science.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Message of Henry D. Cooke, Governor of the District of Columbia, submitted to the Territorial Legislature, Monday, May 15, 1871. Pamph. pp. 42. Washington: 1871.

THE national position of the city of Washington and the District of Columbia render their affairs of general interest. The District over which Congress has a constitutional right to exercise exclusive control has not, until recently, been allowed any other government. This has been a well-founded grievance to the residents of that territory, they being citizens of the United States, yet practically disfranchised. It is true that Congress took them under its special protection; but the members of that body, the large majority coming from a distance, and representing other states and territories, could not be expected to understand the wants of the inhabitants of the District so well as they did themselves An act granting to these people self-government was passed at the late session, and was approved February 21, of the present year.

We think the people of the District were fortunate in obtaining such a man as Mr. Cooke for their chief executive. He is an able political economist, head of a banking-house in Washington, a brother of the still more widely-known Jay Cooke, and a man of unquestionable integrity. He is not a politician, but brings to his administration a thorough acquaintance with the condition of the territory, good practical

knowledge of affairs, a clear, sound head, and an enlightened understanding.

Governor Cooke very properly considers, as the most important matters for the attention of the legislature, the questions of finance, internal improvements, schools, sanitary regulations, charities and correction, and the revision and codifying of the laws of the District. The receipts of the city government he states to be from general taxation, $1,500,000 per annum, in round numbers. This is about $13.26 per capita.

"This ratio of taxation is below that of all but four of the eighteen largest cities in the United States, and is very considerably below the average of rates in these cities" (p. 6.

The expenditures of the city are estimated at about $800,000, exclusive of street improvements, leaving a surplus of $700,000 for the latter purpose and the reduction of the principal of the public debt. We agree with his Excellency that these figures show a healthy financial condition, and that the national political metropolis compares very favorably with other cities of the Union, to say nothing of New York and its self-sacrificing administration.

The Governor speaks with justifiable pride of the conduct of the District during the late war. Its quota under the several calls for troops was 13,973 while the number of men actually furnished was 16,534, an excess of 2,561, besides the payment of commutation by 338 persons, making the total excess 2,899. This is especially noteworthy when we remember that Washington was regarded as a Southern city, and a large proportion of its residents were sympathizers with the rebellion. Other States have filed claims for expenditures in raising and equipping troops, and have been allowed an aggregate of $38,417,817.43, on this account, while the District of Columbia, the amount due to which is "at least $150,000," has received nothing.

The statements and recommendations of the message respecting the public works are interesting, and especially so is the account of railroad connections. What the Governor has to say of public schools interests us most particularly. The statistics, as he truly remarks, "reveal some startling facts," and exhibit a state of things that clamors for energetic and wisely-directed action. The number of persons in the District between the ages of six and seventeen years, is 31,671, of whom 10,494 are colored. The total of public school accommodations is for only 11,836, thus leaving 19,836, nearly two-thirds unprovided for except by charity and private schools, in which the attendance is reported at 6,209. This showing, the Governor declares, is even too favorable, on account of the meagreness of the accommodations, and the imperfect character of many of the school buildings. We quote:

"The report of the Superintendent of Public Schools for 1869 and 1870, states that while some of the schools were crowded, in others scarcely more than half the seats were filled

He adds that 'these facts show that it is not the capacity that is lacking so much as the quality and fitness of the accommodations.' The school buildings owned by the City of Washington are valued, with the lots, at $513,918, of which $100,000 are held by the trustees of the Colored Public Schools." (p. 13)

These buildings, we are further informed, are all sorts of structures, which had formerly been put to all sorts of uses except such as would indicate their fitness for school purposes. This is a discreditable condition of things for the seat of our national government, and shows that Congress has been shamefully derelict in its duty to the people of the District. We hope and trust that the new territorial government will set itself vigorously to work to correct these abuses. Governor Cooke tells us that while other states and territories have received aid from the general government, nothing was granted to the District which was its peculiar charge. Such patronage the people are happy in being permitted to escape from at last. Large portions of public lands have been granted for school purposes to territories which have contributed very little to the revenues of the government, while the unfortunate District has received not an acre of the public domain though paying considerable amounts into the treasury. For the state of things which the new territorial organization is called upon to correct, the general government is almost entirely responsible.

"It is respectfully recommended that measures be taken to obtain from the National Congress a liberal recognition of the peculiar claims of the District to aid, either by direct appropriations of money, or the donation of lands, to be applied to the development and maintenance of a school system which shall be worthy of the nation's capital, and both a model and an example for the nation." (p. 15).

Other statements and recommendations of the message are ably presented. What strikes us particularly in this document is the clearness and conciseness of its suggestions, and their practical character. Mr. Cooke is a modest and sensible man, with no desire to exhibit himself or his personal preferences, but to make plain and practical statements concerning affairs for the benefit of the legislature and the people. We can commend his message as a model to the heads of other municipalities—though, of course, at this time, it would not do to allude to our own.

Views of William H. Gatzmer, President of the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company, upon the Proposition to lease the Public Works of the United Canal and Railroad Companies of New Jersey to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, read before the Joint Board of Directors, at their meeting at Trenton, New Jersey, April 20, 1871. Pamphlet, pp. 26.

QUESTIONS concerning railroads, their management, and the vast

power possessed by those wealthy corporations, are becoming every day more and more important. Unfortunately, the public at large are not sufficiently well instructed to understand these subjects, involving, as they do, questions of political economy and of finance beyond the comprehension of all save a very few whose studies and mental habits enable them to grasp such topics. Of those who own stock in our railroad and other transportation companies, few are competent to judge of the management of the corporations in which they are interested. Were it otherwise, we should not see such palpable instances of mismanagement and outrageous swindling on the part of the officers of some of our chief lines—such, for example, as the Erie—when different results could have been secured by a little knowledge and care on the part of the stockholders. We admit that it is our duty as journalists to do what we can to enlighten the public respecting these matters, and accordingly we have given them considerable attention.

Two of the most powerful corporations in the country are now engaged in a controversy regarding the lease of the principal transportation lines of New Jersey. It is not for us to interfere in this dispute, or to judge between the rival companies. When such experienced and competent railroad men as J. Edgar Thompson and Thomas A. Scott, on the one hand, and William H. Gatzmer and Ashbel Welch, on the other, bring their knowledge to the adjustment of their differences, he would be a very daring man who should attempt to decide between them. All we propose, therefore, in the present instance is to present the facts in the case to our readers in order that they may have an opportunity of forming their own opinion; that they may, at least, know the grounds of difference between the companies.

We shall first make some extracts from the published "Views" of Mr. William H. Gatzmer, the President of the Camden and Amboy Road. Mr. Gatzmer is well known as one long connected with railroad management, a very able officer, and a thoroughly reliable, honest man. His opinions upon such a subject are entitled to the highest respect. The united companies of New Jersey are of immense value, and their capacity for business has been constantly increasing. The proposition to lease these works to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for nine hundred and ninety-nine years has caused a division in their councils. As Mr. Gatzmer tells us:

"Upon all large and important operations of these companies the directors have heretofore been united—upon this subject they are divided."—(p. 2).

Concerning the value of the New Jersey lines we will first extract this general statement:

"Our works are invaluable, their location the best in the United States, are in good order and capable of doing all the business that will ever come to them from the South and West, and between Philadelphia and New York."—(*Id.*).

The president of the Camden and Amboy has distinct ideas of railroad management, and a clear policy as to the lines in which he is interested. His views upon this head will commend themselves to any sound financier:

"We should keep our works and equipment in good order, and no railroad company can reasonably be expected to make improvements faster than a growing business requires, and they should always be graduated according to the revenue."—(p. 4),

The beginning of the complication with the Pennsylvania Company, with the reasons for the action on the part of the New Jersey corporations, is thus stated:

"In order to secure a part of the Western, the Southern and South-western business, and to establish a more perfect route between New York and Washington by passing through Philadelphia without changing the steam trains, an agreement was entered into February 18, 1864, with the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for the latter company to build the connecting railway, and to lease it to the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at a clear annual rent of six per cent per annum."—(p. 5).

There were other specifications in the agreement, concerning which Mr. Gatzmer complains that, "The provisions of the contract have not been carried out by the Pennsylvania Railroad; they have not diverted to this route all their eastern business."—(p. 7). An account of the negotiations and the action of the New Jersey consolidated companies is given, but we have not space to trace it here. As for the necessity of putting these works into the hands of a corporation in another State, Mr. Gatzmer says:

"We should not approach the consideration of this subject with the impression that our companies are running into bankruptcy, or from fear that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company or any other party will build an opposition road to ours between the cities of New York and Philadelphia."—(p. 11).

We are informed that the roads are completely equipped and "in everything equal if not superior to the first-class roads in our country." – (p. 12). As to the earnings of these works:

"Up to and including the year 1866, before the consolidation, each company earned about twelve per cent., paid regular dividends of ten per cent., and had accumulated considerable surplus. The gross receipts in 1866 were $8,112,107, and in 1870, $8,437,093; larger in 1870 by only $324,986, while during the same time the stock basis was increased $6,163,245."—(p. 12).

This is a very satisfactory financial statement. Mr. Gatzmer is opposed to the policy of railroad companies becoming manufacturers of needed articles, to building steamboats, cars and locomotives, which he believes can be done cheaper by other parties who make such business a specialty:

"Canals and railroads should confine their operations to their legitimate business, the collection of tolls on canals and passenger fares and freights on railroads."—(p. 15).

Many other recommendations which he gives impress us as sound, —the results of long experience. He believes that "The public works of New Jersey should continue to be neutral, and administered impart-

ially."—(p. 17). Of the advantages of the position held by the state of New Jersey as respects transportation lines there can be no doubt :

"We are located between the two great cities of the United States, and join them together by both canal and railroads ; the growth of the population of New Jersey far exceeds that of any of the thirteen old States, so that we can sustain our works by the growth of our local business alone, should we lose the Western and Southern connections, but of which there is no danger.—(p. 19)

There are before us a number of documents relating to the proposed lease to the Pennsylvania Company, all of which we have examined with some care. As we do not propose to enter into the controversy we will only make an extract or two of general interest. The New Jersey lines have done a larger amount of business in carrying passengers. in proportion to the length and value of their lines, probably than any other roads in the country. President Welch declares, in his speech before the stockholders, June 7, 1871, that,

"The net profits of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1869 were more than three times as much per mile run of trains with freight as with passengers. Their profit for the year was nine times as much on freight as on passengers ; ours only two-thirds as much on freight as on passengers."

What may be taken as a summary statement of the views of those who oppose the lease of the New Jersey roads, is contained in the speech of Mr. Vincent L. Bradford, president of the Philadelphia and Trenton Company, before the stockolders, at their meeting, May 10, 1871 :

"The proposed movement is a very grave movement, involving a transfer of nearly the entire internal improvement system of New Jersey, and of the public duties connected therewith, of forty millions of dollars of private property, and of the exclusive management of the business intercourse, the trade and traffic of the two metropolitan cities of this continent, to a corporation unknown to the laws and institutions of New Jersey, strangers to the original compact of the stockholders, to the charters of the companies, to the people of New Jersey, and independent of their judicial or political control."

However this matter ends, we hope, that though private parties may be dissatisfied, the public will not suffer from the management of these important lines, but that they will be conducted in the future—as it must be admitted they have been in the past—so as to give general satisfaction ; for that all should be satisfied is not to be expected in the management of railroads more than in any other department of human effort.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD AND INDIFFERENT.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department, State of New York. Part I. Fire and Marine Insurance, Part II. Life and Casualty Insurance. Albany: 1871.

THE record of facts in reference to insurance cannot be a subject of indifference to any one who has studied the principles underlying it, and is aware of the vast importance of the interests involved. An immense amount of capital is being diverted into this channel, and a multitude of persons are employed in carrying on the affairs of the numerous companies. Whether all this money and labor shall be beneficially expended depends upon the honesty and intelligence of the parties who control it. These two requisites must unite in the qualifications of a life underwriter. Not all companies which are unstable are corrupt, nor is unsoundness always the result of ignorance, yet leaving out the moral question, and that of personal accountability, the public has generally less to fear in this case from rascality than from lack of knowledge. Officers who are utterly wanting in moral principle, may nevertheless understand insurance, and may, from self-interest, manage the affairs of their companies satisfactorily, at least for a while. The danger in such cases, as we have often taken occasion to remark, is that these officers will manage, sooner or later, to get all the assets into their own hands.

There have been no extraordinary occurrences of a general character in insurance to note during the last quarter. So much has not been done as could be desired, but the companies that complain most have only their own mismanagement to blame. It is true there have been depressing influences, and these—which we have discussed more than once—may have had an effect upon the best companies, but those substantially founded and rightly managed are always prepared for just such emergencies.

There has been a lack of money which, of course, has retarded active operations, but judicious companies improve such occasions in reviewing their forces and marshalling them for a more effective campaign when the times change. The principal cause of late trouble, however, has been the undue eagerness to issue policies, and the employment of incompetent agents who accept risks which should not be taken. This course cannot be too sedulously guarded against, as it must always react to the impairing of public confidence and the production of other misfortunes.

Complaints are made, and with some justice, of obstructing legislation, unfairly discriminating against companies doing business in other states. Our legislators cannot be expected to understand the principles

governing insurance, and it is not too much to ask them to meddle with the matter as little as possible, where their interference can only produce confusion. Something has been accomplished, doubtless, in restraining irresponsible parties, and much more might be done by competent law-makers. A national bureau might correct some evils, but, for various reasons, Congress could not be relied upon to manage the business satisfactorily.

Men who understand insurance, and only they, should attempt to regulate it. The calling of national conventions is a good movement. The one which met here in May did not, it is true, accomplish much of a definite character, but the interchange of views and the efforts to promote harmony of movement cannot but produce beneficial results. The agreement to adopt similar forms for annual statements in fire, marine and life insurance is an important step.

In his eleventh annual report our state superintendent declared that "Since the organization of this department no American life insurance company doing business in this state has been legally declared insolvent." This apparently spotless record no longer exists. The failure of certain companies, already chronicled, should be a warning not only to the public, but to insurance superintendents to whose oversight such important interests are confided. We have repeatedly cautioned our readers against corporations we thought we had good reason to suspect, and time has, in too many instances, justified our predictions. It is not pleasant to be continually reiterating these cautions; we should decidedly prefer not to do so, but when they are not sufficiently heeded it is necessary.

In our survey of institutions which are specimens of good, bad, and indifferent insurance, we prefer now, as on former occasions, to begin with a company illustrative of the first sort. Accordingly, we will glance at the condition of the New England Mutual, the only really substantial company in Massachusetts, and one of the oldest in the new world. It has a surplus of nearly a million and a half ($1,462,790.52); its cash income last year was $2,276,365.22, an excess of nearly half a million, ($472,434.08) over expenditures. This is in striking contrast with some other companies which have spent more money than they received. We wish there were some other Massachusetts company equally substantial that we might compare it with the New England, but as there is not we will present a comparison in the tabulated form from the official documents before us:

Name.	Paid for losses and claims.	Dividends to policy holders.
New England Mutual.....	$708,000 00	$470,790 76
John Hancock.....	126,580 20	54,415 70

Such an exhibit plainly shows which company best protects the widow and the orphan, and furnishes the more lucrative investment to policy-holders.

Passing to Connecticut, we are encountered by the flaming posters of the Travellers', which, if there were anything in assiduity and magnificence of display to inspire confidence, would deserve to rank highly. Its assets, though claimed to be considerable, are to such an extent of an indefinite character that they give but faint assurance of security. Furniture and paintings are hardly the sort of assets that the public will look upon as indicating wealth, especially when they are estimated at the company's valuation. There are no paintings or furniture mentioned in the report before us, but under the head of "other assets," we doubt not "these pictures" are still included. The sum of $134,045.32 is represented as "cash in office and bank." We fear that the more money such a company has in its own hands, or in bank subject to its order, the less will its policy-holders be likely to get when a crash comes. This company has, it seems, paid for losses and claims during the year, $59,531.19, while its dividends to stockholders were $50,000, nearly as much. There were paid for officers' salaries, etc., $114,972.72, nearly twice as much as for losses, and more than twice as much as to the stockholders! *Could* a company be better managed by its officers—*for themselves?**

The travelling public should note these significant facts. A person going on a journey has a chance, we will say, of about one to ten thousand that he will get a leg or his neck broken. Being timid, and having a beloved wife and children, he prefers to pay roundly to have some one share with him this enormous risk, and accordingly buys an insurance ticket of the Travellers'. Should he get a leg broken the chances are nearly even that he will get nothing from this company, which is so magnanimous—to its officers. We would rather take our chance in a suit for damages against the owners of the Westfield.

We gladly turn from such a picture to a company like the Phœnix Mutual, in the same city; although, to compare the two would be like associating visions with substantial realities; incoherent and bombastic speech with praiseworthy action. The Phœnix figures in this report with the very best companies, and shows a steady and by no means slow improvement. Its surplus is over a million and a half ($1,520,986.13); its excess of income over expenditures nearly a million ($982,277.01); although it paid for losses and claims during the past year $500,466.11.

* History repeats itself. We criticised Batterson, and he abused us in huge pamphlets. We called attention to Ring mismanagement in the Central Park, and Sweeny and his organs fired at us a tremendous volley, or rather series of volleys. We were neither hurt nor badly scared in either case. The Ring has come to grief; Batterson, we fear, has reason to be lachrymose. Yet we are sorry for the latter, and would rather trust him, after all, than the "brains" of Tammany.

The disbursement of half a million yearly among the widowed and the orphaned by a single company shows what great good may be accomplished by life insurance judiciously and conscientiously managed. A husband and father who invests of his income in an institution like the Phœnix may be assured that in the event of his death the interest of the dear ones he leaves behind will be amply protected, and his foresight will be fully justified. The Charter Oak is another Hartford company that has a satisfactory exhibit. This company had a surplus at the close of the year of $858,003.83, and an excess of income above expenditures of considerably over a million dollars. The Ætna Life continues to prosper and flourish.

Coming to our own city we will take a look at the grandiloquent, envious and plotting New York Life. Bombastic self-praise may have an inflating effect for a while, but anything buoyed by such means must, sooner or later, collapse, and illustrate the poet's description of the sinking scribbler:

> "He fell like Phæton, but more at his ease,
> For rotten things are buoyed like cork."

Companies which make no display are entitled to a much higher degree of confidence than those which with less real solidity attempt to attract attention by appearances. It is especially praiseworthy in an insurance company not to undertake to do business or to incur liabilities beyond its means, when the temptations to an opposite course are so great. To achieve final success is surely much better than to make an attractive show for a time, at the expense, eventually, of the widow and the orphan, and to the infamy of the managers whose ambition and cupidity involve others in disaster.

We have often spoken of the impropriety of attempts at architectural display on the part of companies which have not a considerable basis of capital above the possible requirements of their business. When a company has so far progressed as to have a large *real* surplus, it may be very well to invest a part of it in buildings which may at need be made available assets. The Equitable, for example, with its fine granite structure, has such a basis of capital, and has a right to invest in such an establishment. Its $2,446,025.19 worth of real estate it can afford to hold while it continues to be so well managed as at present. We do not object to fine buildings if there is something on the inside; at least we have a right to insist that there should be competent officers to administer the affairs of the concern. We observe that the Equitable issued over ten thousand policies last year, amounting to $40,367,709. The Mutual makes a great display, as usual, and it should be on a sound basis by this time, if destined ever to be in that condition.

We will turn again to contemplate the more agreeable side of the insurance picture, and this we cannot better do than by a hasty glance

at the sturdy, unflinching Knickerbocker Life. It is not necessary to enter into a full examination of this company's condition in order to be convinced of its excellent management. If any testimony to its worth were wanting, it has been abundantly furnished by the virulent attacks of its unprincipled rivals, No criticisms, however, can weigh against the logic of honest figures which show the Knickerbocker to be as substantial as its stock and policy holders could desire. We see that its assets amount to $7,395,659.10, with an excess over total liabilities of above half a million ($550,708.09). It paid for losses and claims $863,-359.35; its excess of income over expenditures during the past year was nearly three-quarters of a million ($727,757.16). We observe that President Lyman has recently made a visit to Philadelphia, where he met other insurance officers. We quote from the Exchange and Review some account of an entertainment at which Mr. Lyman was present, only premising that it is those in New York who know him best that esteem him most highly:

"Mr. Lyman was greeted with a good evidence of the esteem and confidence in which he is held in Philadelphia, and the old Knickerbocker was enthusiastically endorsed. Some of the speakers glanced over the present life insurance situation, touching upon its most and least promising aspects. In response to a call, Mr. Lyman calmly reviewed the more recent history of his company's affairs, dealing with the subject in the characteristic fearlessness and candor of the man, and in the confidence of a strong position."

Next on the superintendent's list, in alphabetical order, is the quiet but thoughtful Manhattan. This is one of those fortunate companies whose merits are acknowledged by all, except by ex-Alderman Franklin of the New York; and its present standing fully justifies the best that has been said in its favor. It has assets amounting to $6,924,116.39; a surplus of $1,558,278.68. Its cash income for the past year was $1,757,-812.20, the excess over expenditures being $594,199.23. It paid in dividends to stockholders $55,000.00, and to policyholders $290,354.34. The policyholders of this company have no reason to complain of the workings of the mutual plan in the case of so well managed an institution. Its dividends were $127,252.71. Ever since this company got relieved of the incubus of a president like Mr. Morgan, now of the North America, it has made steady and healthy progress.*

We will here give a comparative exhibit of some of our younger companies by a table:

NAME.	LIABILITIES.	SURPLUS.	DEFICIENCY.
Continental	$4 224,172.00	$281,063 09	
Security	2,774,739.83	190,191.55	
Craftsmens	472,070.00		$117,835.26
Empire Mutual	634,939.30		1,861.87
Globe	2,793,386.95		75,680.12
Merchants	188,650.66		28,283.22

* We note that the Manhattan makes annual statements in accordance with the laws of twenty-seven different States. In the twenty years that it has been in existence it has paid over $3,500,000 to widows and orphans.

There is no mistaking the significance of these figures which are copied from the superintendent's report. The table illustrates at a glance the difference between sound and unsound companies. In the case of the two institutions first named there is a surplus of assets over liabilities; all the others have a deficiency. The progeny of Mr. Phipps are not very promising, as both the Craftsmen's and Merchants' are on the wrong side of the balance sheet to a very large amount in proportion to their capital. This showing, too, let it be remembered, is their own, from data furnished the superintendent.

The Empire Mutual has, evidently, gained something from the transfer of policies of the extinct Farmers and Mechanics, but it is still feeble. Temporary relief is by no means permanent cure, as those who have invested with this company, will, we fear, some day learn.

The Globe Mutual has also furnished the superintendent with figures which may recall some of our criticisms on its peculiar system. Even its boasted non-forfeiting invention could not keep it out of trouble. Its wondrous blanket-sheet policies did not avail. We have not found a customer for ours yet, though we have offered it for twenty-five cents. The Globe's offspring, the Mutual Protection, is shown to be worthy of its parent. We do not know if its $23,565.82 of deficiency is evidence of inherited disease, but it is not a healthy or encouraging symptom.

The Continental Life continues, as has been seen above, to justify our predictions, by a career of almost unexampled prosperity. Besides the facts exhibited in our table we note that its excess of income over expenditures for the year was $445,063.34; its dividends to stockholders were $6,965, and to policy holders, $59,123.38. The United States, an old and now well managed company, has nearly a million of surplus ($927,846.81). Its excess of income over expenditures the past year was $330,704.13.

An insurance company must either progress or retrograde, as a rule, though there are some, like the North America, which seem to be almost entirely inert. But "the descent to Avernus is easy," a fact which the Globe can verify, and which the North America will find it worth while to heed before it is too late. Insurance is like other business, dependent for success upon judicious management. If a merchant finds that his balance-sheets show a continual deficit, he will conclude that his enterprise is not prosperous, and will resolve either to reform his management or turn his attention to something else. The most ordinary intelligence will teach him that he cannot go on losing indefinitely. A business man operating with his own capital is in a somewhat different position from that in which many officers of insurance companies seem to suppose themselves. In the latter case there is always hope that the public will be induced to take and pay for their policies and thus replenish their depleting coffers. At any rate, while some money

is coming in, these officials do not like to give up, and to acknowledge that they have undertaken what they cannot carry through. In the end the loss may fall upon the policy-holder, when the company's assets represent little that is substantial,

It is not because a company is new, or has a small capital, that we regard it as unsound. The National Life is a modest company, with a capital of $150,000. Though a comparatively young corporation, its affairs are so managed as to give hope for a prosperous career. We notice that its income for the past year was $336,768.52, an excess over its expenditures of $30,455.94, while its income for the previous year was $226,881.36. This indicates sound management.

The Security Life, as our table shows, is still vigorous and progressive. Its losses for the past year were heavy. $344,519.75, yet it paid dividends to both stock and policy-holders, and had a surplus of income over expenditures at the close of $179,107.51. These figures prove that the affairs of the company are as usual ably and faithfully managed. The Mutual Benefit, of New Jersey, always merits commendation in essential points. Its president, as we remarked on a former occasion, is one of the ablest underwriters in the country. Indeed, he has no superior either in ability or integrity, but it is said by outsiders that he is too much hampered by the directors and that were he allowed more freedom the policyholders would find their interests greatly enhanced.

We regret to see that the Standard and the Excelsior continue in a precarious state. The former exhibits a deficiency of $7,772.45. The deficiency of the latter is still greater, being the large sum of $26,878,56. Our readers may remember that they ought not to be surprised at these results. The Economical Mutual, of Rhode Island, is another company whose policy-holders might have profited years ago from our hints. It is represented on the "deficiency" side of the liability account.

There are not many well managed companies, and there are a multitude, besides those we have noticed, that could be mentioned as bad or indifferent specimens. Time will inevitably cure most of the evils of the profession. In some instances insurance officers and directors will learn wisdom from experince, and will correct what is wrong in time to avert calamity. Others, notwithstanding all efforts to enlighten them, will illustrate one of Solomon's descriptions: "Though you bray a fool in a mortar, with a pestle, among wheat, yet his foolishness will not depart from him." Companies which have not a substantial surplus will erect showy buildings to captivate the unwary; others will push rivalry to the extreme of taking unsafe risks, and still others will be robbed by their officers. These things have happened and will continue to happen, but each successive event of the kind, when its results become appa-

rent, will act as a warning, and will have an influence in deterring other companies from following disastrous courses.

By the mere working of inevitable laws the bad companies will be gradually weeded out, the indifferent reformed or annihilated, and the good rendered more prosperous. The public will learn to be discriminating, and insurance officers will acquire wisdom. The future of life insurance cannot be doubtful, for it has a basis of sound economy and real benevolence. It is ignorance of the principles underlying it; of the science of probabilities and of political economy, that causes most of the disasters.

To fire and marine insurance we have hitherto paid comparatively little attention, but intend to do otherwise in the future. This business is not of so popular a character as life insurance; it affects a smaller portion of the public; the policy holders are generally better qualified to judge of financial matters. Its principles, too, while in many respects substantially the same, have not so well developed a scientific basis. There are special requirements in the conduct of each branch of insurance, and where legislation is demanded it needs to be different to adapt it to the needs of each. This is a fact which has not been constantly heeded by state superintendents or state legislatures, and much confusion has thereby resulted.

Life and casualty insurance are increasing upon fire and marine, yet the latter have still much the larger number of companies. According to the report before us, there are two hundred and seventy companies now doing business in this state, of which one hundred and ninety-seven are fire and marine of various kinds. Notwithstanding this, the indications are favorable for a greater increase in life insurance corporations, and also for a much larger acquisition of capital.

The showing of the year's business in fire insurrnce is instructive. Of the New York joint-stock companies the premiums on fire risks were $20,064,153, and the losses, $11,119,308. The premiums received in 1870 were over $500,000 less than for 1869, and in the latter year there was a falling off from 1868, when the amount was still less than for 1867. For the past four years the amount received for premiums has constantly decreased. The showing for other companies doing business in this state, indicates a larger diminution for the past two years than in the former case. Yet the losses for the New York companies decreased from 1866 to 1869, inclusive, though for 1870 there was an increase on the previous year. These facts would seem to indicate an advance in knowledge and in carefulness. The average losses to premiums, from 1860 to 1870, were, for New York companies, ·5719 per cent, and for other State companies doing business here, ·6073 per cent.

A table constructed from data furnished by the superintendent will best exhibit some of the vagaries of fire insurance:

NAME.	CAPITAL STOCK.	SURPLUS.	PERCENTAGE OF SURPLUS.
Washington	$400,000.00	$242 041.24	$60.51
Hope	150,000.00	34,778.98	23.19
Hanover	400,000 00	4,541.11	1.14
Security	1,000,000.00	396.98	.04

The Security Fire, notwithstanding its boasted white marble palace, has —very unlike its Life namesake—the smallest percentage of surplus of any company reported. We will quote from our last number what was perhaps too mild a hint to be fully understood by those who look only upon the outside of things.

"Those most particularly interested should bear in mind that there are fire as well as life companies whose coffers are occasionally robbed by their own officers; another fact which it would be well to remember is, that *it is not those fire companies that have most money that make most display*, but, in general, those that have least of it. There are a certain class in all countries who never make so fine an appearance in public as when they are on the verge of bankruptcy. It is true that fine clothes, fine equipages, or *even fine houses* cannot long conceal the catastrophe, but they may do so long enough to inflict much injury on those whose faith is larger than their perception or judgment."

Let the figures given in our table be contrasted with the marble structure in Broadway. These figures should be inscribed in the largest gilt letters upon the front of that imposing edifice; there would be a handwriting upon the wall which he who runs might read. Who does not remember the large picture of that structure, engraved and circulated a long time before the building was erected? Still the Security Fire may prove a good company, but, we confess, our fear in that respect is greater than our hope.

Of the whole number of fire companies there are very few of which we can speak commendably. It is a pity that such large interests should so suffer, and that a business which, if rightly managed, would prove of the greatest benefit to property owners, should be permitted to fall into the hands that, in a majority of instances, now control it.

Some recent insurance legislation has provoked not a little comment. New Hampshire has passed a law to the effect that any company doing business in the State shall, within fifteen days after notice of loss by fire, "adjust the same." We approve of requirements to compel insurance corporations to adjust losses promptly, but the provision in this respect in the New Hampshire act is too absolute. In a case of suspected but well-covered fraud, it might require months to obtain satisfactory evidence. It is true that a criminal prosecution could be instituted at any time, but what would that avail the losing company after the money had been paid, especially as the swindler would probably put himself beyond the reach of justice before the evidence to warrant his arrest could be obtained? There ought to be discretionary power somewhere; on the one hand to compel companies to adjust losses within a reasonable time, and on the other to permit delay where it would tend to the exposure of fraudulent practices, as by watching the movements of suspected parties, while awaiting the settlement of their claim.

There is less in marine than in fire insurance that we take a pleasure in contemplating. The business is not a prominent interest now, at the best, and it is so managed as to become less and less useful. There are only eleven companies exclusively devoted to marine insurance operating in New York, with a total joint stock capital of $3,951,400. The number would be sufficient if there were good system in their management.

There were some able marine underwriters connected with our New York companies, but all seem to have passed away in the decadence of this interest. The Mercantile Mutual, for example, once had an intelligent and judicious vice-president, Mr. Charles Newcomb, who managed its affairs so as at least to secure its policy-holders. The company, however, could not appreciate such a man, and accordingly he retired. The result is shown in a painful contrast between the past and present condition of the Mercantile. Mr. Newcomb, we believe, has been out of office about two years, and these years have been melancholy ones for those interested in the good conduct of marine insurance. The company now exhibits a deficiency of $281,515.62, being the only corporation of this kind that is on the wrong side of the superintendent's balance-sheet. Of its gross assets, which are not heavy, a large proportion, we observe, is characterized as "miscellaneous assets." As we have frequently shown in the case of life insurance companies there is in our opinion but little confidence to be placed in property so classed. It may consist of anything to which the officers choose to assign a value. A president or director, for example, might have a dog of which he is very fond and which he is willing to swear is worth $1,000, while any other human being would regard the quadruped as not worth the powder necessary to put him out of existence. Superintendents should be wary of "miscellaneous" property, and where there is reason to fear that a company is moribund, they should carefully investigate the nature of its "assets."

The Sun Mutual, which for years was known to our readers as the "Moon Mutual," has not yet quite got back to the zero point in its progress, but its surplus is reduced to $7,240.90, the poorest showing of any company in the state after the Mercantile. Of its $786,679.91 assets, $128,408.70 are "miscellaneous," and "figures do not lie." (!)

INDEX

TO THE

TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME

OF THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Allibone's Dictionary of Literature and Authors, noticed, 330.

American Colonial Literature, article on, 314—want of distinctiveness, *ib.*—causes, *ib. et seq.*—early settlers, 316—germs of modern style, 317—colleges founded, *ib.*—first works, 318—Captain Smith, *ib.*—Spanish adventurers, 319 *et seq.*—French Jesuits, 320—New England writers, *ib. et seq.*—John Cotton, 321—Roger Williams, *ib. et seq.*—controversy, 323—John Eliot, 325—puritanism and poetry, *ib.*—elegies, 326—Anne Bradstreet, *ib.*—characteristics, 327—Cotton Mather, 328—witchcraft, 329—the *Magnalia*, 330—poetical writers, 331 *et seq.*—the Carolinas, 332—translations from classics, 333—Jonathan Edwards, *ib.*—his style and character, 334 Franklin, *ib.*—humorous writings, 335—poems, *ib.*—other writers, 336—number worth reading, *ib.*—era of the revolution, *ib.*

Ancient Africa and its races, article on, 296—unknown regions, 297—causes, *ib.*—obstructions, *ib. et seq.*—Dr. Livingstone, 298—other explorers, *ib. et seq.*—the negro, 299—other races, *ib.*—features of Africans, *ib. et seq.*—changes in races, 300—origin of Ethiopians, *ib. et seq.*—ancient records, 301—Egyptians, *ib.*—Gallas, 302—customs, *ib.*—Arabians, *ib. et seq.*—ancient civilization, 303—evidences, 304—political organizations, *ib. et seq.*—records, 305—personal characteristics, *ib. et seq.*—dominant races, 306—other tribes, 307—cities, 308—extinct peoples, *ib.*—pre-historic states, 309—early records, *ib. et seq.*—ruins of cities, 310—ancient knowledge, 311—coast explorations, 312—the name Africa, 313—scriptural references, *ib. et seq.*—modern investigations, 314.

Andrews, Stephen Pearl, his Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato, noticed, 195.

Anonymous and Pseudonymous Authors and their Works, article on, 42—extent of anonymous literature, *ib.*—publications respecting, *ib. et seq.*—meaning of terms, 43—literary impositions, 54, *et seq.*—decrees against *noms de plume*, 46—French laws, *ib.*—Barbier's lists, 47—Querard's work, 48—"Junius," 49—Chatterton's forgeries, 50—Scott and his followers, *ib.*—English and American pseudonyms, *ib. et seq.*—initials, 51—defense of pseudonyms, 52—used by eminent writers, *ib.*—modern literary stimulants, 53—ancient practices, *ib.*—writers of the middle ages, *ib.*—anonymous books of former times, 54—Loyola's writings, 55—Pascal's letters, *ib. et seq.*—religious treatises, 56—limits of anonymous system, 57—value of historical works, *ib.*—responsibility for alleged facts, 58—Psalmanazar and his imposition, *ib. et seq.*—Galt's views, 59—anonymous criticisms, 60—Berkeley's assault on Fraser, 61—the Brontë sisters, 62—other lady pseudonymists, *ib. et seq.*—moral aspect of the subject, 63—Scott's evasion, 64—false claims, 65—indifference to fame, *ib.*

Aristocracy, our, as manufactured from the raw material, article on, 277—our public, *ib.*—the age of pewter, *ib.*—mania for praise, 278 *et seq.*—variety of tastes, 279—satirists, 280 *et seq.*—London clubs, 281—Jenkinsism, *ib. et seq.*—Australian society, 282—receptions, 283—schools for scandal, 284—a social nuisance, *ib.*—ostentation, 285—laudation of royalty, 285—the modern herald, *ib. et seq.*—Jenkins in middle ages, 286—in Greece and Rome, 287—demand for puffery, *ib. et seq.*—unau-

thorized announcements, 288—prices of puffery, *ib.*—movements of the rabble, *ib.* specimens of notices, 289—extracts from society journals, 290 *et. seq.*—insulting to ladies, 292—"ladies' favorites," *ib.*—"distinguished" individuals, *ib. et seq.*—stylish equipage, 293—frequency of notices, *ib.*—increase of flunkeyism, 294—announcements in dailies, *ib. et seq.*—success of quackery, 295—purchased notoriety, 296.

Authors, Allibone's Dictionary of, noticed, 380.

Buchanan, Robert, his Napoleon Fallen, criticised, 187.

Collegiate and scholastic quackery, male and female, article on, 337—the unities, *ib.*—praise and blame, *ib.*—clerical virulence, 338—courteous educators, *ib.*—vultures and sharks, 339—college commencements, *ib.*—boarding-school displays, 340—puffery of the press, *ib.*—Plato and Solomon, 341—common sense wanted, 342—European superiority, *ib.*—Jesuit Colleges, *ib. et seq.*—educational agencies, 343—qualified and ignorant, *ib.*—editorial weakness, 344—power of noise, *ib.*—New England colleges, 345—University of New York, *ib.*—Columbia College, *ib.*—Catholic colleges, 346—the Christian Brothers, *ib. et seq.*—Jesuit pretensions, 347—what they have been, *ib.*—Georgetown College, 348—Manhattan College and the archbishop, 349—his grace's declaration of independence, 350—Jesuit rule, 351—undue restraint, *ib.*—air and exercise, 352—effect of liberality, 353—Jesuit interference, 354—effect on students, 355—Plutarch's maxim, 356.

Cooke, Governor Henry D., his message, noticed, 389.

Cornwallis, Kinahan, his Adrift with a Vengeance, noticed, 191.

Decline of Poetry, the, article on, 207—poetic history, *ib.*—its beginnings, 208—causes of decline, 209—what is poetry, *ib.*—form not essential, 210—necessity of rhythm, 211—the essence of poetry, *ib.*—the real groundwork, 212—its special charm, 213—the poet a creator, 214—his characteristics, 215—naturalness, *ib.*—poetic production, 216—the poetic state, *ib.*—historic proofs, 217—effect of climate, 218—influence of the age, *ib.*—the philosophic period, 219—the reign of law, *ib. et seq.*—poetry of nature, 220—ancient theories, 221—business and poetry, 222—a luxury, *ib.*—want of faith, 223—law of development, *ib.*—religion and nature, *ib. et seq.*—spontaneity, 224—requisites, 225—proofs of decline, *ib.*—its extinction a calamity, 226—best conditions, *ib.*—want of appreciation, 227—the scientific age, *ib. et seq.*

Deutsche Mächte, und der Fürstenbund, noticed, 182.

District of Columbia, Governor Cooke's message, noticed, 389.

Earth and its Inhabitants, Age and Vicissitudes of the, article on, 130—age of the earth, *ib.*—differences of opinion, *ib.*—scientific method of reasoning, 132—beginning of history, 133—extent of pre-historic period, *ib.*—antiquities, 134—methods of explanation, 135—inferences, *ib.*—the three ages, *ib.*—production of fire, 136—the bronze age, 137 *et seq*—an age of copper, 138—the iron age, *ib.*—heaps of shells, 139—implements discovered, 140—antiquity of stone age, 141—trees of different ages, *ib. et seq.*—lake discoveries, 142 *et seq.*—inferences respecting lake dwellers, 144—earliest historical accounts, *ib.*—further discoveries and conclusions, 145—objects of such dwellings, 146—character of utensils, *ib. et seq.*—the different ages, 148—characteristics, 149—ages of epochs, 150—subject of races, *ib.*

England under the *Tudors*, article on, 228—Henry VII, 229—effect of maritime discoveries, *ib.*—Tudor characteristics, *ib. et seq.*—consolidation of power, 230—the feudal system, 231—accession of Henry VII, *ib.*—reign of Elizabeth, 232—The Queen of Scots, *ib.*—ferocity, 233—want of conveniences, *ib.*—dwellings of nobility, 234 *et seq.*—of the gentry, 235 *et seq.*—of the poor, 236—suppression of monasteries, 237—condition of the poor, *ib.*—wages of laborers, 238—efforts at amelioration, 239—government and capitalists, *ib.*—the poor law, 240—the Tudors and the nobility, 241—the court of Elizabeth, 242—the middle class, 243—extravagance of the court, *ib. et seq.*—hours for meals, 244, *et. seq.*—changes in table customs, 245—founding of schools, 246—learning of princes, *ib.*—colleges established by Tudors, 247—maritime enterprise, 248—distinguished personages, *ib. et seq.*—rise of the drama, 249—character of Elizabeth, 250 *et seq.*—the arts in her reign, 251—architecture, *ib.*—music, 252—dissemination of news, *ib.*—postal service, 253—modes of conveyance, *ib.*—population, 254—military and naval force, *ib.*—revenue, *ib.*—character of the people, 255.

English Intellect, the, what has done during Victoria's Reign, article on, 106—changes since the Queen's accession, *ib.*—condition at that time, *ib.*—Scott and Byron as representatives, *ib. et seq.*—new period in literature, 108—intellectual activity, 109—increase of periodicals, *ib.*—power of newspapers, 110—cheapness, *ib.*—magazine writers, 111—sensationalism, *ib. et seq.*—novel writing, 112—progress in refinement, 113—irreverence of French authors, *ib.*—excess of novels, 114—realism of English fiction, 115—the drama, *ib. et seq.*—historians, 116—improvements in historic writing, 117—theological writings, 118 *et seq.*—influence of German school, 119—poetry, 120—lack of originality, *ib.*—differences of critical opinion, 121—Tennyson, *ib.*—mental philosophy, 122—daring of modern philosophers, 123—social and political writings, 124—physical science, *ib. et seq.*—travels and explorations, 125—discoveries in Africa, 126—jurisprudence, 127—journalism, *ib.*—general literature, 128—female sovereigns and literature, *ib.*—character of modern writings, 129—remuneration, 130—improvement of literary profession, *ib.*

European Nationalities and Races, articles on, 1—the national question in Bohemia, *ib.*—geographical and political position, 2—population 3—purpose of the Pan-Slavis s, 4—difficulties, *ib.*—distribution of races, 5, *et seq* —Hellenic influence, 8—inhabitants of Greece, 9—the modern nation, 10—mixed character of Greek population, *ib.*—position of Hungary, *ib*—the Poles, 11—Hungarian population, *ib.*, *et seq.*—national spirit, 13—Palmerston and Hungary, *ib. et seq.*—Polish and Hungarian revolts, 14—cause of failure, 15—Sclavonians and Germans, 16—German treachery, *ib.*—despotism and cruelty, 17—effect of aristocracy, *ib*—the imperialist system, 18—liberalism in Vienna, *ib.*—centralization how secured, 19—attitude of the Czecks, *ib* —Czeck and Hungarian constitutions, *ib. et seq.*—Russian leanings, 20—pilgrimage to Moscow, 21—Czecks and Russians, 21.

Financial Basis of Society, the, article on, 88—the physical basis theory, *ib.*—acceptance of Huxley's views, *ib. et seq.*—mind and soul, 89—indefiniteness, 90—meaning of terms, *ib.*—necessity of sensible media, 91—character of finance in society, 92—no refined society without money, *ib.*—ratio of growth, 93—the society of wealth, *ib.*—requisites of admission, *ib. et seq.*—the society of rank and distinction, 94—need of money, *ib. et seq.*—development of higher order, 95—the society of culture, 96—dependence upon financial basis, *ib.*—other requisites, 97—the leading class in America, *ib.*—assimilation of species, 98—moral and religious elements, *ib.*—demoralizing influence of poverty, 99—effect of panics and crises. *ib. et seq.*—disastrous effects of agrarianism, 101—relative standing of social orders, *ib.*—the biological law, 102—the second order, *ib.*, *et seq.*—the highest circle, 103—development of American society, 104—tendencies, 105—present character, *ib.*—prospects for future, *ib.*

French, tragic drama, the—Corneille, article on, 256—great men, *ib.*—Corneille's position, *ib.*—early French literature, 257—early writers, 258—Corneille's first comedy, 259—*Clitandre* and other plays, 260—first tragedy, 261—character and reception, *ib.*—comedy again, *ib.*—the *Cid* and its success, 262—opposition of Richelieu, 262—judgment of Academy, *ib. et seq.*—criticism of the *Cid*, 263 *et seq.*—*Horace*, 265—its character, *ib. et seq.*—reception, 267—*Cinna*, 268—criticisms upon the drama, *ib. et seq.*—*Polyeucte*, 271—chief characters, *ib.*—*Pompée*, 272 *et seq.*—other dramas, 273 *et seq.*—Corneille's industry, 274—compared with Racine, *ib. et seq.*—French taste, 275—characteristics, *ib.*—personal appearance, 276.

Fur, Fin, and Feather, a Compilation of Game Laws, noticed, 196.

Geisebrecht, Wilhelm von, his Deutsche Reden, noticed, 181.

Genesis of Species, the, by Mivart, noticed, 385.

Goethe's Faust, Taylor's translation, reviewed, 373.

Grote's History of Greece, reviewed, 377.

Hall's, Mayor, Message and our Municipal, Administration, article on, 151——criticisms on park management, 152—partisan prejudice, *ib.*—Greek dramatists and American journalists, 155 *et seq.*—Venice and Florence, 157—resources and population of New York, 158.

Hammond, Dr. William A., his Physics and Physiology of Spiritualism, noticed, 193.

Lamartine, his Memoires Inédites, noticed, 383.

Mackenzie, Dr. R. Shelton, his life of Scott, noticed, 382.

Mivart, St. George, his Genesis of Species, noticed, 385.

Mitchell's Maps, new series, and Key, noticed, 179.

Müller, Max, his Chips from a German Workshop. (1st and 2d vol.) reviewed, 189.

National Quarterly, the "spiteful," and innocent Ring-leader, Rule, article on, 356—abuse of former article, *ib.*—charges unrefuted, 357—the responsible party, *ib.*—the brains of Tammany, *ib.*—Sarpi, 358—former criticisms, 359—the real culprit, *ib.*—Sweeny and Bismarck, 360—apology to latter, 361—ornithology, *ib.*—newspaper attacks, 362—exceptions, *ib. et seq.*—the Times, 363—thuggism, 364—temptations of saints, *ib.*—our higher courts, 365—New York mayors, 367—instigator of attacks, 368—Connolly and Brennan, 369—municipal patronage, 370—the general government, 371—unpaid bills, *ib.*

Natural History, Wood's, criticised, 386.

Origin of Lowest organisms, Bastian's, work on, noticed, 388.

Ranke, Leopold von, his Deutsche Mächte, noticed, 182.

Revue des Deux Mondes, noticed, 192.

Russian Advance in Asia, the, article on, 66—ignorance of the subject, *ib.*—Tartar conquests, 67—Cossack incursions, *ib.*—Russian aggressions, *ib et seq*—advance into China, 68—conflicts, 69—explorations on the Amoor, *ib.*—annexation of territory, 70—value of acquisitions, *ib.*—further advances, *ib.*—value of Siberia, 71—mineral wealth, 72—improvements, *ib.*—advances southward, *ib.*—discoveries of silver and lead, 73—Russian cunning, *ib.*—other colonies, 74—agricultural resources, 75—schools and religion, *ib.*—character of Central Asia, 76—religious intolerance, 77—early Russian aggressions, *ib.*—value of rivers, *ib.*—modern advance of Russians, 78—conflicts with Khivans, *ib.*—expeditions and battles, 79 *et seq.*—object of the Russians, 80—invasion of Kokan, *ib.*—religious fanaticism, 81—the conquest completed, 82—further advances, *ib.*—end of the conflict, 83—advantages gained by Russia, *ib.*—Muscovite improvements, 84—Russian designs, 85—character of Eastern diplomacy, *ib.*—the English in the East, 86—superiority of Russian method, *ib.*—England's fears, 87—obstacles to Russian advance, *ib.*—projects of improvement, *ib.*—effect of success, *ib. et seq.*

Scott, Sir Walter, his life by Mackenzie, noticed, 382.

Soule, Richard, his Dictionary of English Synonymes, noticed, 182.

Spinoza, the Religion and Ethics of, article on, 22—object of philosophy, *ib.*—necessity for religious belief, *ib.*—influence of Spinoza, 23—atheism and pantheism, 24—the starting-point of philosopoy, *ib.*—first principles, 25—demonstration of first cause, 26—nature of Deity, 27—Spinozism and modern science, *ib.*—evil impossible, 28—no free agency, 29 *et seq.*—former pantheists, 31—pain a reality, 32—limits of suffering, 33—Cicero's opinion, 34—body and mind, 35—theory of Leibnitz, *ib.*—capacities of the body, 36—the immortal part, 37—practical bearings of Spinozism, 38—nature of mind, *ib.*—conscience, *ib. et seq.*—goodness and happiness, 39—the love of God, *ib.*—self-government, 40—all for good, *ib.*—charity, *ib.*—refutations of Spinoza, 41.

Taylor's translation of Faust, reviewed, 373.

Union Bible Companion, the, noticed, 180.

Wheeler, William A., his Vocabulary of Names of Fiction, reviewed and criticised, 173.

Wood, Rev. J. G., his Natural History, criticised, 386.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS,

RUE DE RIVOLI,

GENERAL REDUCTION OF PRICES.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS,

700 DRAWING ROOMS AND BEDROOMS,

ELEGANTLY FURNISHED, AT FROM 3 FRANCS.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS,

Breakfast at 3 fr. 50 c, wine included, from 10 A.M. till 1 P.M.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS,

Dinners at 5 f., wine included, daily at 6 P.M.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE, PARIS,

REDUCTION THROUGHOUT.

SECURITY LIFE INSURANCE

AND ANNUITY COMPANY,

Nos. 31 and 33 Pine Street, New York.

OFFICERS:

ROBERT L. CASE, Prest. THEO. R. WETMORE, Vice-Prest.

ISAAC H. ALLEN, Secretary.

YEAR ORGANIZED, 1862.

POLICIES IN FORCE, Dec. 31, 1870, No. 14,686. AMOUNT INSURED, $37,338,978.

NEW POLICIES ISSUED IN 1870, No. 5,324. AMOUNT INSURED, $14,088,498.

RECEIPTS IN 1870.—Total Premiums		$1,476,402 97
Cash Premiums		900,868 73
Note Premiums		575,574 24
Interest Receipts		109,752 69
Gross Income in 1870		1,592,465 46
EXPENDITURES IN 1870.—Losses Paid, including Dividend Additions, Cash, $348,484.34. Notes, $20,278.11		368,762 45
Payments on all Policy Claims other than death.... Annuities		937 91
Matured Endowments		
Surrenders		134,247 78
Reinsurance		19,772 68
Dividends to Policy-holders		172,646 14
" Stockholders		12,035 00
Taxes		12,288 00
All other Expenditures		396,037 28
Gross Disbursements		1,117,623 12
Gross Assets, including Capital, Jan. 1, 1871		2,964,931 38
Estimated Reinsurance Reserve		2,587,620 50
Total Liabilities, exclusive of Capital Stock		2,632,371 33

LIBERAL COMMISSIONS TO EXPERIENCED AGENTS.

No. XXIII.

December, 1865.

I. Authenticity of Ossian's Poems.
II. Daniel Webster and his Influence.
III. The Symbolism of the Eddas.
IV. Character and Destiny of the Negro.
V. Epidemics and their Causes.
VI. Lord Palmerston.
VII. Museums and Botanical Gardens.
VIII. The President's Message.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXIV.

March, 1866.

I. Galileo and his Discoveries.
II. Australia—its Progress and Destiny.
III. International Courtesy—Mr. Bancroft's Oration.
IV. Sydney Smith and his Associates.
V. The President's Veto—Rights to Conquered.
VI. Lossing and His Works.
VII. Pain and Anæsthetics.
VIII. British Rule in Ireland.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXV.

June, 1866.

I. Socrates and his Philosophy.
II. The Saturnian System.
III. Heine and his Works.
IV. Why the Opera falls in New York.
V. Buddhism and its Influence.
VI. The South American Republics and the Monroe Doctrine.
VII. Greek Tragic Drama—Sophocles.
VIII. Partisan Reconstruction.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXVI.

September, 1866.

I. The Julius Cæsar of Napoleon III.
II. The Philosophy of Death.
III. Arabian Civilization, and What We Owe It.
IV. Newton and his Discoveries.
V. Our Colleges and our Churchmen.
VI. Irish Law and Lawyers.
VII. Sample of Modern Philosophy.
VIII. The National Convention and its Work.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXVII.

December, 1866.

I. Physiology and the Lessons it Teaches.
II. Cuba—its Resources and Destiny.
III. Robert Boyle—his Influence on Science and Liberal Ideas.
IV. Food and its Preparation.
V. Hungary—her Literature and her Prospects.
VI. The Acquisition of Knowledge Impeded by our Legislators.
VII. Indecent Publications.
VIII. Education in Congress.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXVIII.

March, 1867.

I. Alfieri: his Life, Writings, and Influence.
II. Oliver Cromwell: his Character and Government.
III. The Temporal Power of the Pope
IV. Chatterton and his Works.
V. Poisons and Poisoners.
VI. Negro Rule in Hayti and the Lessons it Teaches.
VII. The Sun and its Distance from the Earth.
VIII. Insurance—Good, Bad, and Indifferent.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXIX.

June, 1867.

I. The Ancient Phœnicians and their Civilization.
II. Ornithology of North America.
III. Origin of Alphabetic Writing.
IV. Virgil and his new Translator.
V. Release of Jefferson Davis *vs.* Military Domination.
VI. Fichte and his Philosophy.
VII. What the Politicians make of our Postal System.
VIII. Euler and his Discoveries.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXX.

September, 1867.

I. The Jews and their Persecutions.
II. Have the Lower Animals Souls or Reason?
III. Winckelman and Ancient Art.
IV. Dante and his new Translator.
V. What has Bacon Originated or Discovered?
VI. Assassination and Lawlessness in the United States.
VII. The Jesuits in North America and Elsewhere.
VIII. The Civil Service in the United States.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

[See page 26.]

THE MUTUAL BENEFIT

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

NEWARK, N. J.

LEWIS C. GROVER, President,

EDWARD A. STRONG, Secretary,
BENJAMIN C. MILLER, Treasurer. } H. W. CONGAR, Vice-President.

DIRECTORS:

LEWIS C. GROVER,	MARCUS L. WARD,
HENRY McFARLAN,	NEHEMIAH PERRY,
CHARLES S. MACKNET,	JOSIAH O. LOW,
A. S. SNELLING,	JOSEPH A. HALSEY,
RANDALL H. GREENE,	H. N. CONGAR,
I. H. FROTHINGHAM,	OSCAR L. BALDWIN.

Those wishing Insurance in one of the oldest Life Companies in the country, conducted wholly in the interests of the insured members for more than a quarter of a century, are requested to call upon the undersigned, who will furnish its publications and the information required.

SAMUEL H. LLOYD,
State Agent, Eastern District of New York.
137 Broadway, New York.

THE

Hope Fire Insurance Co.

OFFICE, No. 92 BROADWAY.

Cash Capital	*$150,000*
Net Assets, Jan. 1, 1871	*214,240*

The advantages offered by this Company are fully equal to any now offered by other reliable companies, comprising a liberal commission to Brokers, placing entire lines of insurance with customary rebate to assured, and prompt settlement of losses.

Board of Directors.

Henry M. Taber,	T. W. Riley,	S. Cambreleng,
Joseph Foulke,	Cyrus H. Loutrel,	Jacob Reese,
L. B. Ward,	D. Lydig Suydam	F. Schuchardt,
H. S. Leverich,	Robert Schell,	William H. Terry,
Joseph Grafton,	Amos Robbins,	J. W. Mersereau,
D. L. Eigenbrodt,	William Remsen,	Stephen Hyatt.

JACOB REESE, *President.*

JAMES E. MOORE, *Secretary.*

No. XXXI.

December, 1867.

I. Greek Comedy—Menander.
II. Animal Magnetism; its History, Character, and Tendency.
III. Management of our Finances; Ruinous Influence of Paper Money.
IV. Lafayette, as a Patriot and Soldier.
V. Nebular Astronomy.
VI. Martin Luther and the Old Church.
VII. Mediæval German Literature—Eschenbach.
VIII. Heraldry: Its Origin and Influence.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXII.

March, 1868.

I. Epicurus and his Philosophy.
II. English Newspapers and Printing in the Seventeenth Century.
III. Progress and Influence of Sanitory Science.
IV. The Miscroscope and its Discoveries.
V. The Venetian Republic and its Council of Ten.
VI. Progress Made by American Astronomers.
VII. Supernatural Phenomena.
VIII. Impeachment of the President.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXIII.

June, 1868.

I. Seneca as a Moralist and Philosopher.
II. Present Aspect of Christianity.
III. Chess in our Schools and Colleges.
IV. The Rational Theory.
V. Thomas Aquinas and his Writings.
VI. Illustrated Satirical Literature.
VII. The Discoveries of Hipparchus and Ptolemy.
VIII. The Impeachment Trial and its Results.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXIV.

September, 1868.

I. Nicholas Copernicus.
II. Three Centuries of Shakespeare.
III. Epidemics—Ancient and Modern.
IV. The Siege of Charleston.
V. Our Colleges and Seminaries, Male and Female.
VI. "Strikes" *versus* Wages and Capital.
VII. Comets and their Orbits.
VIII. Our Presidential Candidates.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXV.

December, 1868.

I. Infernal Divinities—Ancient and Modern.
II. Early Christian Literature.
III. The Sorrows of Burns.
IV. The Phenomena of Sound.
V. Orangeism in Ireland: its History and Character.
VI. George William Frederick Hegel.
VII. The Miraculous Element in our Periodicals.
VIII. Ancient Etruria.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXVI.

March, 1869.

I. Diogenes the Cynic.
II. The Turco-Greek Question.
III. Beranger and his Song.
IV. Successive Conquests and Races of Ancient Mexico.
V. Columbia College.
VI. The Ruling Class in England.
VII. Celtic Music.
VIII. President Grant and his Cabinet.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

[See page 28.]

STATE OF NEW YORK,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
ALBANY, August 1, 1871.

To the Sheriff of the County of New York—Sir:—

Notice is hereby given that at the general election to be held in this State on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday of November next the following officers are to elected, to wit:

A Secretary of State, in the place of Homer A. Nelson;
A Comptroller, in the place of Asher P. Nichols;
A Treasurer, in the place of Wheeler H. Bristol;
An Attorney General, in the place of Marshal B. Champlain;
A State Engineer and Surveyor, in the place of Van Rensselaer Richmond;
A Canal Commissioner, in the place of George W. Chapman;
An Inspector of State Prisons, in the place of David B. McNeil.
All whose terms of office will expire on the last day of December next.

Also a Justice of the Supreme Court for the First Judicial district, in the place of Josiah Sutherland, whose term of office will expire on the last day of December next.

Also a Senator for the Fourth Senate district, comprising the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Thirteenth and Fourteenth wards of the city and county of New York.

Also a Senator for the Fifth Senate district, comprising the Eighth, Ninth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth wards of the city and county of New York.

Also a Senator for the Sixth Senate district, comprising the Tenth, Eleventh and Seventeenth wards of the city and county of New York.

Also a Senator for the Seventh Senate district, comprising the Eighteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first wards of the city and county of New York.

Also a Senator for the Eighth Senate district, comprising the Twelfth, Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards of the city and county of New York.

COUNTY OFFICERS—Also to be elected for said county:—
Twenty-one members of Assembly;
Two Justices of the Superior Court, in the place of Samuel Jones and James C. Spencer;
A Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in the place of Charles P. Daly;
A Judge of the Marine Court, in the place of Henry Alker;
A Register in the place of Michael Connolly;
Two Inspectors of Election for each Election district, in the place of the present Inspectors of Election;
All whose terms of office will expire on the last day of December next.

The attention of Town and City Election Boards, Inspectors of Election and County Canvassers is directed to chapter 712 of the Laws of 1871, herewith printed, as to the supply of ballot boxes, form of ballots and manner of canvassing votes, to wit:

Chapter 712.

An act in relation to the election of Representives in Congress, Senators and Members of Assembly.

Passed April 25, 1871, three-fifths being present.

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:—

SECTION 1. At each annual or special election at which a Representative in Congress, Senator or Member of Assembly is hereafter to be elected, the inspectors in the several election districts in this State shall provide and keep a separate box in which all ballots for Representatives in Congress, to be endorsed "Congress," shall be deposited; also a separate box in which all ballots for Senator, to be endorsed "Senate," shall be deposited; and also a separate box in which all ballots for member of Assembly, to be endorsed "Assembly," shall be deposited, and the ballots deposited in said several boxes shall be estimated and canvassed in the order named above, respectively, and immediately following the estimate and canvass of the ballots endorsed "State."

SEC. 2. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect immediately.

Respectfully yours, &c.,
H. A. NELSON, Secretary of State.

You are, without delay, to deliver a copy of the above notice to the Board of Supervisors and to each Supervisor in your county; and also to cause a copy of said notice to be published in such public newspapers printed in your county, not exceeding fifteen in number, having the largest circulation in the city and county of New York, once in each week, until the election.

Vide chap. 480, Laws of 1860.

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, NEW COURT HOUSE,
CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK, August 1, 1871.

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the Election Notice received by me this day from the Secretary of State.

MATTHEW T. BRENNAN,
Sheriff of the City and County of New York.

Publishers of newspapers will not insert this advertisement unless especially authorized so to do. See chapter 480, Laws of 1860.

MATTHEW T. BRENNAN, Sheriff.

CONTRIBUTORS

TO

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

☞ The following list includes only those whose contributions have attracted particular attention:

Contributors.	Titles of Articles.
ADLER, G. J., A.M.,* New York	William Von Humboldt as a Comparative Philologist.
DOYLE, Hon. Dr. LAWRENCE, New York	The Canadas; their Position and Destiny.
BRISTOW, Dr. HENRY G., St. Louis, Mo	Yellow Fever, etc.
CHEEVER, HENRY R., Boston, Mass	Modern Italian Literature.
DANA, ALEX. H., New York	Philosophy of Population; Popular Illusions.
DENNISON, Prof. HENRY, Glasgow, Scotland	The Works of Charles Dickens.
GALBRAITH, Rev. H. LE PŒR, Dublin, Ireland	Mexican Antiquities.
GREENE, CHARLES G. Jr., Boston, Mass	The Turko-Greek Question; The Irish Church; The French Crisis.
HENZEL, Prof. CARL B., Philadelphia	Wills and Will Making.
HILL, CLEMENT HUGH, Boston, Mass	William Pitt and his Times.
HUDSON, JOSEPH DANA, Portland, Maine	Vico's Philosophy of History.
LIEBER, Prof. JAMES T., Louisville, Ky	New Theories, etc., in Natural History.
LLOYD, Prof. MAX. G., Boston	The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.
MACKENZIE, Dr. R. SHELTON, Philadelphia	Lord Palmerston; The Ruling Class in England; The Man with the Iron Mask; Irish Law and Lawyers; Sydney Smith and his Associates; Illustrated Satirical Literature.
MILLS, Rev. HENRY, LL.D., London, England	The Saracenic Civilization in Spain.
McLENAHAN, JOHN, New York	A Glance at the Turkish Empire; Hungary, Past and Present; Berkley, his Life and Writings; the Union not a League, etc.
MEZZOROCCHI, E. C., M. D., Boston	Count de Cavour.
MORSE, JOHN T., Jr., Boston	The Conspiracy of Cataline; Graham of Claverhouse and the Covenanters; Wallenstein.
MUNSEN, Rev. WILLIAM T., Portland, Maine	Education, etc., of Christian Ministry.
NILAN, Rev. Dr., Port Jervis, N. Y	Present Aspect of Christianity.
PERHAULT, Prof. EUGENE, Berlin, Prussia	Danish and Swedish Poetry.
PRENDERGAST, THOMAS D., LL.D., London, England	Italy, Past and Present.

* The academic degrees are given only of those whom the editor happens to know they possess such honors.

REED, JOS. J., Philadelphia.....The Parsees; Successive Conquests and Races of Ancient Mexico; Celtic Music; King Arthur and the Round Table Knights.

RYAN, Prof. D. J.. St. Mary's College, Kentucky.....Sir Thomas More and his Times; Sacred Poetry of the Middle Ages.

SEARS, E. I., LL.D.....Dante; Torquato Tasso; Camoens and his Translators; James Fenimore Cooper; The Nineteenth Century; The Modern French Drama; Persian Poetry; Modern Criticism; Ancient Civilization of the Hindoos; French Romances and American Morals; The Greek Comic Drama—Aristophanes; The Men and Women of Homer; Influence of Music—The Opera; The Poetical Literature of Spain; Vindication of the Celts; Christopher Martin Wieland; Bombastic Literature; Female Education, Good, Bad, and Indifferent; The Chinese Language and Literature; The Comedies of Molière; The Works and Influence of Goethe; The Laws and Ethics of War; Lucretius on the Nature of Things; The Arts and Sciences among the Ancient Egyptians; The Quackery of Insurance Companies; Arabic Language and Literature; Spuriousness and Charlatanism of Phrenology; The Insane and Their Treatment, Past and Present; La Place and his Discoveries; The Mexicans and their Revolutions; The Brazilian Empire; Klopstock as a Lyric and Epic Poet; Our Quack Doctors and their Performances; Kepler and his Discoveries; Chemistry—Its History, Progress, and Utility; Do the Lower Animals Reason? Spinoza and his Philosophy; Commencement of Colleges, etc.; Pythagoras and his Philosophy; Leibnitz as a Philosopher and Discoverer; Our Presidents and Governors Compared to Kings and Petty Princes; Italian Poetry—Aricsto; Machiavelli and his Maxims of Government; The Celtic Druids; Galileo and his Discoveries; Socrates and his Philosophy; Authenticity of Ossian's Poems; Heine and his Works; Napoleon III.'s Julius Cæsar; Newton and his Discoveries; Alfieri; Robert Boyle and his Influence; The Ancient Phœnicians; Virgil and his New Translator; The Jews and their Presecutions; Dante and his New Translator; Greek Comedy—Menander; Martin Luther and the Old Church; Epicurus and his Philosophy; The Venetian Republic and its Council of Ten; Nicholas Copernicus; Infernal Divinities Ancient and Modern; Orangeism in Ireland; Diogenes the Cynic; Vindication of Euripides; Erasmus and his Influence; Vassar College and its Degrees; Sophocles and his Tragedies, etc. etc.

STUART, Prof. JAMES C., Aberdeen, Scotland.....The Sciences among Ancients and Moderns.

TROWBRIDGE, DAVID, Waterburgh, N. Y.... .....Comets and their Orbits; Nebula Astronomy; Eclipses and their Phenomena.

VOSBURG, J. H.....The Sorrows of Burns; The Troubadours and their Influences; Rabelais and his Times.

WOODRUFF, Prof. J. B., Nashville, Tenn. ....The Civilizing Forces.

WENTWORTH, Rev. E. L., Toronto, Canada.....The Works of Miss Evans.

THE

National Life Insurance Co.

OF NEW YORK,

No. 212 Broadway, Corner of Fulton Street,

(KNOX BUILDING.)

OFFICERS.

EDWARD A. JONES, *President.* JONATHAN O. HALSEY, *Vice-Pres.*

JOHN A. MORTIMORE, *Secretary.*

JOHN C. DIMICK, Attorney and Counsel.

HIRAM B. WHITE, M. D., Medical Examiner. Residence, No. 5 Green Avenue, near Fulton Ave., Brooklyn.—At Office daily from 2 to 3 o'clock, P. M

ASBURY

Life Insurance Company,

OFFICE, 803 BROADWAY,

Corner of Eleventh Street,

NEW YORK;

AND

CROSBY'S OPERA HOUSE,

CHICAGO.

Pennsylvania Central Railroad,

SHORT ROUTE BETWEEN THE

EAST AND WEST,

Running Cars without Change between

NEW YORK and CRESTLINE, CHICAGO, COLUMBUS, CINCINNATI, INDIANAPOLIS, LOUISVILLE, and ST. LOUIS.

Through Time both East and West between

NEW YORK and	PITTSBURGH	15 hours.
"	CINCINNATI	27 "
"	CHICAGO	27 "
"	ST. LOUIS	42 "

The arrangement of Sleeping Cars by this and connecting roads is such as to afford the utmost convenience to passengers. They run from supper to breakfast stations, passing intervening connecting points without change between New York and Pittsburgh, Altoona and Crestline or Dennison; Pittsburgh and Chicago, Cincinnati or Indianapolis, St. Louis and Crestline, Columbus or Cincinnati; New Orleans and Louisville.

ASK FOR TICKETS VIA PITTSBURGH.

For sale at all principal Railroad Ticket Offices throughout the country.

HENRY W. GWINNER, General Passenger and Ticket Agent.

A. J. CASSATT, General Superintendent.

SAFEST & CHEAPEST SYSTEM OF INSURANCE.

CASH CAPITAL. SCRIP PARTICIPATION

Washington Insurance Company

172 BROADWAY,

Corner of Maiden Lane, NEW YORK.

CASH CAPITAL, ...$400,000

ASSETS, February 7th, 1871, ... 806,059

FIRE, MARINE & INLAND NAVIGATION INSURANCE.

The Policies entitled to participate receive 75 per cent. of the net profits.

Average Scrip Dividends for Six years FORTY-FIVE per cent. per annum.

HENRY WESTON, Vice-President. GEO. C. SATTERLEE, President.

WM. A. SCOTT, Assistant Secretary WM. K. LOTHROP, Secretary.

Notice of Sale of Lands and Tenements

FOR UNPAID ASSESSMENTS FOR STREETS, AVENUES AND PARK OPENINGS, WIDENINGS AND EXTENSIONS.

CITY OF NEW YORK,
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, BUREAU OF ARREARS,
OFFICE OF CLERK OF ARREARS, June 12, 1871.

Under the direction of the Comptroller of the city of New York, the undersigned hereby gives public notice, pursuant to the provisions of the act entitled "An act for the collection of taxes, assessments and Croton water rents in the city of New York, and to amend the several acts in relation thereto, passed April 8, 1871," that the respective owners of all the lands and tenements on which assessments have been laid and confirmed, and are now due and unpaid, and have remained due and unpaid since the confirmation of said assessments, for the following city improvements for streets, avenues and park openings, widenings and extensions, to wit:—

Opening avenue A, from Fifty-fourth to Seventy-ninth street.
Widening Beekman street, from Park row to Pearl street.
Extension of Bowery, from Chatham to Franklin square.
Extension of Church street, from Fulton to Morris street.
Opening Chambers street, from Chatham to James slip.
Opening Central Park.
Extending Central Park.
Opening Eleventh avenue, from One Hundred and Seventh to One Hundred and Forty-fourth street.
Opening Eightieth street, from Bloomingdale road to Harlem river.
Opening Eighty-second street, from Eighth avenue to Hudson river.
Opening Fifty-eighth street, from Fifth avenue to East river.
Opening Fifty-ninth street, from Fifth avenue to East river.
Opening First avenue, from Forty-second street to Harlem.
Opening Fourth avenue, from Thirty-eighth to One Hundred and Thirty-fifth street.
Opening Fifth avenue, from One Hundred and Thirtieth street to Harlem river.
Opening Madison avenue, from Forty-second to Eighty-sixth street.
Opening Ninetieth street, from Third avenue to Harlem river.
Opening Ninety-second street, from Fifth avenue to East river.
Opening Ninety-third street, from Third avenue to East river.
Opening Ninety-sixth street, from Fifth avenue to Harlem river.
Opening Ninety-sixth street, from Eighth avenue to Bloomingdale road.
Opening Ninety-ninth street, from Fifth avenue to Harlem river.
Opening Ninety-ninth street, from Eighth avenue to Hudson river.
Opening One Hundreth street, from Eighth avenue to Broadway.
Opening One Hundred and Ninth street, from Third avenue to Harlem river.
Opening One Hundred and Fifteenth street, from Tenth avenue to Harlem river.
Opening One Hundred and Twenty-fourth street, from Hudson to Harlem river.
Opening One Hundred and Twenty-sixth street, from Fifth avenue to Bloomingdale road.
Opening One Hundred and Twenty-second street, from Seventh avenue to Hudson river.
Opening One Hundred and Twenty-eighth and One Hundred and Thirty-first streets, from Tenth avenue to Hudson river.

Opening One Hundred and Thirty-third street, from Eighth avenue to Harlem river, and from Tenth avenue to Hudson river.

Opening One Hundred and Thirty-fifth street, from Fourth to Eighth avenue.

Opening One Hundred and Thirty-seventh street, from Tenth avenue to Harlem river and from Eleventh avenue to Hudson river.

Opening One Hundred and Forty-first street, from Bloomingdale road to Harlem river.

Widening Reade street, from Broadway to Chatham street.

Widening Reade street, from Broadway to Washington street.

Opening Sixty-third street, from Fifth avenue to East river, and from Eighth avenue to Hudson river.

Opening Sixty-fifth street, from Eight avenue to Hudson river.

Opening Sixty-ninth street, from Eighth avenue to Hudson river, and from Fifth avenue to East river.

Opening Sixty-sixth street, from Fifth avenue to East river.

Opening Seventy-first street, from Fourth avenue to East river, and from Tenth avenue to Hudson river.

Opening Seventy-second street, from Fourth to Tenth avenue.

Opening Seventy-third street, from Third to Fourth avenue.

Opening Seventy-fifth street, from Eight avenue to Hudson river.

Opening Seventy-sixth street, from Fifth avenue to East river, and from Eighth avenue to Hudson river.

Opening Seventy-seventh street, from Eighth avenue to Hudson river, and from Fifth avenue to East river.

Opening Seventy-eighth street, from Third avenue to East river.

Opening Second avenue, from One Hundred and Twenty-fourth street to Harlem river.

Opening Sixth avenue, from One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street to Harlem river.

Widening Seventh avenue, from One Hundred and Tenth street to Harlem river.

Widening Worth street, from Baxter to Hudson street.

Widening Whitehall street, from Bowling Green to East river.

—are required to pay the amount of the assessments so due and remaining unpaid respectively, for the opening, widening and extension of the above named streets, avenues, and parks to the Clerk of Arrears, at his office in the City Finance Department, in the New Court House, together with the interest thereon at the rate of twelve per cent per annum to the time of payment, with the charges of this notice and advertisement.

And if default shall be made in such payment, such lands and tenements will be sold at public auction at the New Court House, in the City Hall Park, in the City of New York, on the 16th day of September, 1871, at 12 o'clock noon, for the lowest term of years at which any person shall offer to take the same in consideration of advancing the amount of the assessment so due and unpaid, and the interest thereon as aforesaid, to the time of the sale, and together with charges of this notice and advertisement and all other costs and charges accrued thereon.

And that such sale will be continued from time to time until all the lands and tenements here advertised for sale shall be sold.

And notice is hereby further given that a detailed statement of the assessments, the ownership of the property assessed, and on which the assessments are due and unpaid, is and will be published once in each week in the daily newspaper called the *World*, and is also published in a pamphlet, and that copies of the pamphlet are deposited in the office of the Bureau of Arrears in the Finance Department, and will be delivered to any person applying for the same

A. S. CADY, Clerk of Arrears.

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A LITERARY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL OF THE FIRST CLASS, EACH NUMBER CONTAINING OVER 200 PAGES. PUBLISHED IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER.

Established 1860.

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D., Editor, Proprietor and Founder.

The liberal patronage extended to us, even during the gloomiest period of the late rebellion, and which has been steadily increasing since the restoration of peace, affords us the most gratifying proof that, in subjecting to fearless and searching criticism whatever has a tendency to vitiate the public taste, and exposing charlatanism of all kinds, we enjoy the approbation of the educated and enlightened in all parts of the country.

Nor have we to rely on mere inference. Were we to avail ourselves of private letters emphatically commending our course, we could fill an octavo volume with the briefest extracts from those of distinguished men and women, including authors, artists, lawyers-distinguished church dignitaries of different denominations, chancellors and professors of colleges, principals of academies, seminaries and schools. We assure all who have thus encouraged us that we will exert ourselves more and more in the future to merit their confidence and esteem.

While it affords none more pleasure to do justice to the merits of good books, we shall continue to criticise those of the opposite character. A notice in a paper, which must necessarily be brief, may be more appreciative than the character of the work noticed deserves, and yet not imply any dishonesty or bad faith on the part of the editor; but if a Quarterly does not make some attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff, but praises every book it notices, it is simply a *puffing* machine and not a *Review*. We do not make this remark with the view of depreciating any other journal or finding fault with the manner in which it is conducted, but simply to show that, if our criticisms sometimes seem harsh, it is not because we are actuated by personal feeling against any one. In proof of this, our readers will bear us testimony that under no circumstances have we ever made any attack on private character; that if we have denounced men of all grades, parties and sects, we have, in every instance, confined ourselves to their public acts; nor shall we do anything different in the future.

All subjects of public interest will continue to be fully and fearlessly discussed in the REVIEW, but without impugning anybody's religious creed. As long as we have control of its pages, we shall oppose bigotry and intolerance, whether Protestant or Catholic. Talent and culture will always be welcome to its pages, and, as much as possible, encouraged.

Education in every form, including Art and Science, will receive prominent and friendly attention; and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subject to fearless, but fair and temperate, criticism.

While aiming at being cosmopolitan—doing justice as far as possible to what every nationality has contributed to civilization and human progress—the NATIONAL REVIEW is decidedly American in feeling and sympathies, and unalterably attached to our free institutions. But far from being the organ of any party or sect—while disclaiming to be either partisan or sectarian—we shall continue to treat the individuals of all parties or sects, according as their public conduct may seem to us to merit. In short, no pains or expense will be spared to render the work worthy of the character assigned to it by the leading organs of public opinion at home and abroad—namely, "*The best of American Reviews.*"

EXTRACTS FROM LEADING JOURNALS.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

"The Quarterly gives evidence of continued vitality and enterprise, and occupies a position almost exclusively its own."—*Boston Transcript.*

"The *National Quarterly Review* has achieved a reputation second to no similar periodical in the country, and to the deep learning, rare ability and indefatigable labor of Dr. SEARS, its originator, editor and largest contributor, are we indebted for a publication in all respects honorable to American literature. Subjects discussed in its pages are treated with comprehensive knowledge and impartial criticism, and whether the judgment of the editor accords with that of the reader or not, none will dispute its candor and fair presentation."—*Boston Post.*

"'Our Millionaires and their influence,' is a powerful and well-merited castigation of the mere money-makers, the railroad rogues, the gold-market speculators, who override society in the New World as well as in the Old."—*Phila. Press.*

"It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly Review*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste."—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

"Il (the editor) a mérité l'estime de nos savans par d'important traveaux comme critique sur la haute education, aussi bien que la litérature."—*Independance Belge, Brussels.*

"* * *Vasar College and its Degrees* is a merciless unmasking of an educational sham, deserving the gratitude of all friends of true education. * * "—*Christian Standard, Cincinnati, O.*

"* * No one can take up the two American quarterlies without feeling that, while the one is the organ of a clique, and bound down and restrained by the narrowest Puritan sentiment the other is broad, generous and Catholic in tone, and world-wide in its sympathy. The *North American* and its little sister, the *Atlantic Monthly*, think of the world from what Lord Bacon would have called the Cave, and treat the world as if Boston were really the hub of the universe. The *National Quarterly* takes a bolder standpoint, and from its greater elevation, makes juster observations and arrives at more correct conclusions. * * "—*New York Herald.*

"It is at once the most learned, most brilliant, and most attractive of all their (the American) periodicals."—*London Spectator.*

"La clarté, l'ordre, la precision du style; ce que les Anglais appellant *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités que distinguent le *National Quarterly Review*, au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américaine."—*Le Pays, Paris.*

"It is a model of good taste and good sense, of sound judgment and pure diction, of earnest scholarship and patient research, of critical ability and enlarged liberality. It is positive without being dogmatic, and fearless without being unjust. If Dr. Sears had done nothing more than to expose the insurance quackery of the day, as he has done, he would be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of those who have the same affection for charlatanism, clap-trap and humbug, that the devil has for holy water. We hope he will live long to carry on his crusade against trickery and fraud, and that shabby underwriters may writhe under his inflictions till the whole brood becomes extinct."—*Baltimore Underwriter.*

"It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability."—*London Saturday Review.*

"We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance."—*Boston Journal.*

"More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it certainly has not lagged since in ability or vigor."—*London Daily News.*

"Every one of these articles is brilliantly written. The editor, Dr. Sears, is an Irish Protestant. His *Review* proves intellect as fine as can be found, and candor as unrestricted, by prejudiced limits, as the Catholic Church itself can require. Certainly the Catholics, particularly the Irish Catholics, of this country should well support a publication which is thus distinguished."—*Philadelphia Catholic Universe.*

"Some particularly fearless and original opinions heretofore expressed in the *National* have established an almost personal feeling of respect and esteem between its readers and itself. Of this kidney are the views expressed by the author of the paper in the present (December) number on 'Our Millionaires and their Influence.' The writer puts into words what many of us have been feeling for a long time, that the sluicing of money into the channels guided by a few capitalists is going to have the gravest effect upon national honor and progress."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

"Pour bien apprécier cet écrivain il faut le comparer à ces dévanciers dans la litérature critique Américaine, et l'on verra quel pas immense qu'il fit faire."—*La Presse, Paris.*

"This journal supports creditably the critical ability of New York, and often contains papers that would make a sensation if they appeared in some medium of longer traditional reputation."—*New York Daily Times.*

"Broad, liberal, and learned in its tone and contents, it also fulfills the functions of a high order of journalism by piquant criticism and reviews of current events."—*Cincinnati Chronicle.*

No. XXXVII.

June, 1869.

I. Vindication of Euripides.
II. Rousseau and his Influence.
III. The Parsees.
IV. The Philosophy of Population.
V. The Man with the Iron Mask.
VI. Vassar College and its Degrees.
VII. Henry Kirke White.
VIII. The Irish Church.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXVIII.

September, 1869.

I. The Byzantine Empire.
II. Popular Illusions.
III. The Primitive Races of Europe.
IV. The Queen of Scots and her Traducers.
V. The Troubadours and their Influence.
VI. The Ethics and Æsthetics of our Summer Resorts.
VII. King Arthur and the Round Table Knights.
VIII. Our Higher Educational Institutions. Male and Female.
IX. Note to Vassar College Article in our last Number.
X. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XXXIX.

December, 1869.

I. Hindoo Mythology and its Influence.
II. Hugo and Saint-Beuve.
III. The Greek Church.
IV. Women's Rights Viewed Psysiologically and Historically.
V. Robin Hood and his Times.
VI. Our Millionaires and their Influence.
VII. Mr. Gladstone and the Heroic Ages.
VIII. Eclipses and their Phenomena.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XL.

March, 1870.

I. Rabelais and his Times.
II. National Organic Life.
III. Louis XI. and his Times.
IV. Opium and the Opium Trade.
V. Erasmus and his Influence.
VI. The French Crisis.
VII. A Neighboring World.
VIII. Our Criminals and Our Judiciary.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.

No. XLI.

June, 1870.

I. Rise of Art in Italy.
II. Johann Ludwig Uhland.
III. Rivers and their Influence.
IV. Origin and Development of the Modern Drama.
V. The Nations of the Persian Gulf.
VI. Specimen of a Modern Epic.
VII. Visit to Europe—Some Things usually Overlooked.
VIII. Notices and Criticisms.
IX. Appendix—Insurance: Good, Bad and Indifferent.

No. XLII.

September, 1870.

I. Alfred the Great and his Times.
II. Madame de Sevigne and her Letters.
III. Icelandic Literature.
IV. Yachting not merely Sport.
V. The American Bar—William Pinkney.
VI. Sophocles and his Tragedies.
VII. The Abyssinian Church.
VIII. The Franco-Prussian War.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.
X. Appendix—Insurance and its Contracts.

No. XLIII.

December, 1870.

I. Female Artists.
II. The Lost Sciences.
III. Our Navy, and what it should be.
IV. De Quincey and his Writings.
V. The Structure of the Earth.
VI. Causes of the Franco-Prussian War.
VII. Development of the Cell Theory.
VIII. Party Strife and its Consequences.
IX. Notices and Criticisms.
X. Appendix—Insurance.

No. XLIV.

March, 1871.

I. Ceylon and its Mysteries.
II. Canova.
III. National Characteristics of French and German.
IV. Central Park under Ring Leader Rule.
V. Ancient Graves and their Contents.
VI. German Minor Poets—Freiligrath.
VII. Specimen of a Modern Educator of Young Ladies.
VIII. Mountains and their Influence.
IX. Notices and Critic sms.
X. Appendix - Insurance: Good, Bad, and Indifferent.

Only Direct Line to France!

THE GENERAL TRANSATLANTIC COMPANY'S

MAIL STEAMSHIPS

BETWEEN

NEW YORK AND HAVRE,

Calling at Brest.

The splendid vessels on this favorite route for the Continent will sail from

PIER NO. 50, NORTH RIVER,

AS FOLLOWS:

VILLE DE PARIS, -	SURMONT, -	Saturday, Oct. 7
PEREIRE, - - -	DAURE, -	Saturday, Oct. 21
LA FAYETTE, -	ROUSSAN, -	Saturday, Nov. 4

Price of Passage in Gold (including Wine)

To BREST or HAVRE.

First Cabin, $125. || ***Second Cabin, $75***

These Steamers do not carry Steerage Passengers.

American travelers going to or returning from the Continent of Europe, by taking the steamers of this line, avoid both transit by English railway and the discomforts of crossing the Channel, besides saving time, trouble and expense.

GEORGE MACKENZIE, Agent,

No. 58 BROADWAY.

New Jersey, Camden & Amboy,

AND

PHILADELPHIA & TRENTON RAILROADS.

Great Through Line Without Change of Cars

TO

PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON,

AND THE WEST!

For Philadelphia:

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 7, 8.30, and 9.30 A.M., 12.30, 1, 4, 5, 7, 9.20, and 12 P.M.

Leave Pier No. 1, N. R., at 6.30 A.M. and 2 P.M.

For Baltimore and Washington:

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 9.30 A.M., 12.30 and 9.20 P.M.

For Pittsburgh, Chicago and Cincinnati:

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 9.30 A.M., 5 and 7 P.M.

WM. H. GATZMER, Agent,

C. J. & A. R. R. and Tr. Co.

UNITED STATES

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

No. 48 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

INCORPORATED 1850.

Cash Assets nearly $4,000,000.00

The Principal Features of this Company are

ABSOLUTE SECURITY,

ECONOMICAL MANAGEMENT, and

LIBERALITY TO THE INSURED.

ALL FORMS OF LIFE AND ENDOWMENT POLICIES ISSUED.

JOHN E. DeWITT, President.

CHAS. E. PEASE, Secretary. WILLIAM D. WHITING, Actuary.

THE

New Jersey Mutual Life Insurance Co.,

189 Market Street, Newark, N. J.

Perpetual Insurance Secured by Payment of One Annual Premium.

Assets nearly Three Quarters of a Million of Dollars, Securely Invested.
Income One Third of a Million of Dollars.

Policies Issued on all the Approved Plans of Insurance.

Dividends Declared on the "Contribution Plan,"

And Applicable either toward the Reduction of the Premium,

OR THE

Increase of the Policy.

No Unnecessary Restrictions upon Residence and Travel.

Extract from the Report of Supt. Miller, of his examination of the New Jersey Mutual Life Insurance Company, December 17, 1870.

I have made a thorough examination of the affairs of the NEW JERSEY MUTUAL LIFE INS. CO. The result of that examination has been to satisfy me that the business of the Company is systematically and honorably conducted, and that its financial condition is such as to entitle it to public confidence. George W. Miller, Supt. Ins. Department.

OFFICERS.

WILLIAM M. FORCE, President. CHARLES C. LATHROP, Vice-President.
CHARLES H. BRINKERHOFF, Actuary and Acting Secretary.

HANOVER
FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY,

(Incorporated 1852.)

OFFICE, No. 120 BROADWAY,

CORNER CEDAR STREET, *NEW YORK.*

CASH CAPITAL, - - - -	$400,000 00
GROSS SURPLUS, Jan. 1, 1871, - -	300,334 64
GROSS ASSETS, - - - -	$700,334 64

Agencies in all the principal cities and towns of the U.S.

In the West & South represented by the Underwriters' Agency.

BENJAMIN S. WALCOTT, Prest.

I. REMSON LANE, Secy.

DEPARTMENT OF DOCKS,
Nos. 346 and 348 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, July 12, 1871.

NOTICE—Pursuant to the provisions of sub-division 3, of section 6, of chapter 574, Laws of 1871, the Board of Commissioners governing the Department of Docks hereby gives notice that the plans for the improvements of the water front of the city of New York, determined upon by said Board, were, on the 27th day of April, 1871, duly adopted by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund and returned to the Board governing this Department, with a certificate of such adoption written thereon, in conformity with the law. That said plans and certificate are held in the office of this Board and are open to public inspection daily, between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock A. M. and that from and after the said 27th day of April, 1871, no wharf, pier, bulkhead, basin, dock or slip or any wharf structure or superstructure can be laid out, built or rebuilt within the territory or district embraced in and specified upon such plans, except in accordance therewith.

JOHN T. AGNEW,
HENRY A. SMITH,
WILSON G. HUNT.
RICHARD M. HENRY,
WILLIAM WOOD,
} Commissioners

J. GRENVILLE KANE, Secretary.

INMAN LINE

FOR

QUEENSTOWN and LIVERPOOL

ROYAL MAIL STEAMERS

Are appointed to sail as follows:

CITY OF LIMERICK..... ....Thursday, September 28, 2 p. m.

CITY OF BROOKLYN,.....Saturday, September 30, 3 p.m.

And each succeeding SATURDAY and alternate THURSDAY, from Pier No. 45, North River.

RATES OF PASSAGE.

PAYABLE IN GOLD.		PAYABLE IN CURRENCY.	
1st Cabin	$75	Steerage	$30
To London	80	To London	38
To Paris	90	To Paris	38

PASSENGERS ALSO FORWARDED TO

HAVRE, HAMBURG, BREMEN, &c.

AT REDUCED RATES.

Tickets can be bought here at moderate rates by persons wishing to send for their friends.

For further information apply at the Company's Office.

JOHN G. DALE, Agent.

No. 15 Broadway, New York.

EXTRACTS FROM LEADING JOURNALS.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

"The Quarterly gives evidence of continued vitality and enterprise, and occupies a position almost exclusively its own."—*Boston Transcript.*

"The *National Quarterly Review* has achieved a reputation second to no similar periodical in the country, and to the deep learning, rare ability and indefatigable labor of Dr. SEARS, its originator, editor and largest contributor, are we indebted for a publication in all respects honorable to American literature. Subjects discussed in its pages are treated with comprehensive knowledge and impartial criticism, and whether the judgment of the editor accords with that of the reader or not, none will dispute its candor and fair presentation."—*Boston Post.*

"'Our Millionaires and their Influence,' is a powerful and well-merited castigation of the mere money-makers, the railroad rogues, the gold-market speculators, who overide society in the New World as well as in the Old."—*Phila. Press.*

"It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly Review*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste."—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

"Il (the editor) a mérité l'estime de nos savans par d'important traveaux comme critique sur la haute education, aussi bien que la litérature."—*Independance Belge, Brussels.*

"* * *Vasar College and its Degrees* is a merciless unmasking of an educational sham, deserving the gratitude of all friends of true education. * * "—*Christian Standard, Cincinnati, O.*

"* * No one can take up the two American quarterlies without feeling that, while the one is the organ of a clique, and bound down and restrained by the narrowest Puritan sentiment the other is broad, generous and Catholic in tone, and world-wide in its sympathy. The *North American* and its little sister, the *Atlantic Monthly*, think of the world from what Lord Bacon would have called the Cave, and treat the world as if Boston were really the hub of the universe. The *National Quarterly* takes a bolder standpoint, and from its greater elevation, makes juster observations and arrives at more correct conclusions. * * "—*New York Herald.*

"It is at once the most learned, most brilliant, and most attractive of all their (the American) periodicals."—*London Spectator.*

"La clarté, l'ordre, la precision du style; ce que les Anglais appellant *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités que distinguent le *National Quarterly Review*, au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américaine."—*Le Pays, Paris.*

"It is a model of good taste and good sense, of sound judgment and pure diction, of earnest scholarship and patient research, of critical ability and enlarged liberality. It is positive without being dogmatic, and fearless without being unjust. If Dr. Sears had done nothing more than to expose the insurance quackery of the day, as he has done, he would be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of those who have the same affection for charlatanism, clap-trap and humbug, that the devil has for holy water. We hope he will live long to carry on his crusade against trickery and fraud, and that shabby underwriters may writhe under his inflictions till the whole brood becomes extinct."—*Baltimore Underwriter.*

"It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability."—*London Saturday Review.*

"We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance."—*Boston Journal.*

"More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it certainly has not lagged since in ability or vigor."—*London Daily News.*

"Every one of these articles is brilliantly written. The editor, Dr. Sears, is an Irish Protestant. His *Review* proves intellect as fine as can be found, and candor as unrestricted, by prejudiced limits, as the Catholic Church itself can require. Certainly the Catholics, particularly the Irish Catholics, of this country should well support a publication which is thus distinguished."—*Philadelphia Catholic Universe.*

"Some particularly fearless and original opinions heretofore expressed in the *National* have established an almost personal feeling of respect and esteem between its readers and itself. Of this kidney are the views expressed by the author of the paper in the present (December) number on 'Our Millionaires and their Influence.' The writer puts into words what many of us have been feeling for a long time, that the sluicing of money into the channels guided by a few capitalists is going to have the gravest effect upon national honor and progress."—*Philadelphia Bulletin.*

"Pour bien apprécier cet écrivain il faut le comparer à ces dévanciers dans la litérature critique Américaine, et l'on verra quel pas immense qu'il fit faire."—*La Presse, Paris.*

"This journal supports creditably the critical ability of New York, and often contains papers that would make a sensation if they appeared in some medium of longer traditional reputation."—*New York Daily Times.*

"Broad, liberal, and learned in its tone and contents, it also fulfills the functions of a high order of journalism by piquant criticism and reviews of current events."—*Cincinnati Chronicle.*

☞ **Two Dollars ($2.00) will be paid by the Editor for each copy of the first or second number of the National Quarterly Review.**

To Contributors.

All articles should be received at least a month before the month of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome; they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

CONTENTS OF No. XLVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1871.

I. The Decline of Poetry.

II. England under the Tudors.

III. The French Tragic Drama—Corneille.

IV. Our Aristocracy as Manufactured from the Raw Material.

V. Ancient Africa and its Races.

VI. American Colonial Literature.

VII. Collegiate and Scholastic Quackery, Male and Female.

VIII. The "Spiteful" National Quarterly and Innocent Ring Leader Rule.

IX. Notices and Criticisms.

Taylor's Faust—Grote's History of Greece—Allibone's Dictionary of Authors—Mackenzie's Life of Scott—Lamartine's Memoires—The Genesis of Species—Wood's Natural History—Origin of Lowest Organisms—Message of Governor Cooke—Mr. Gatzmer's Views, &c.

X. Appendix—Insurance, Good, Bad and Indifferent.

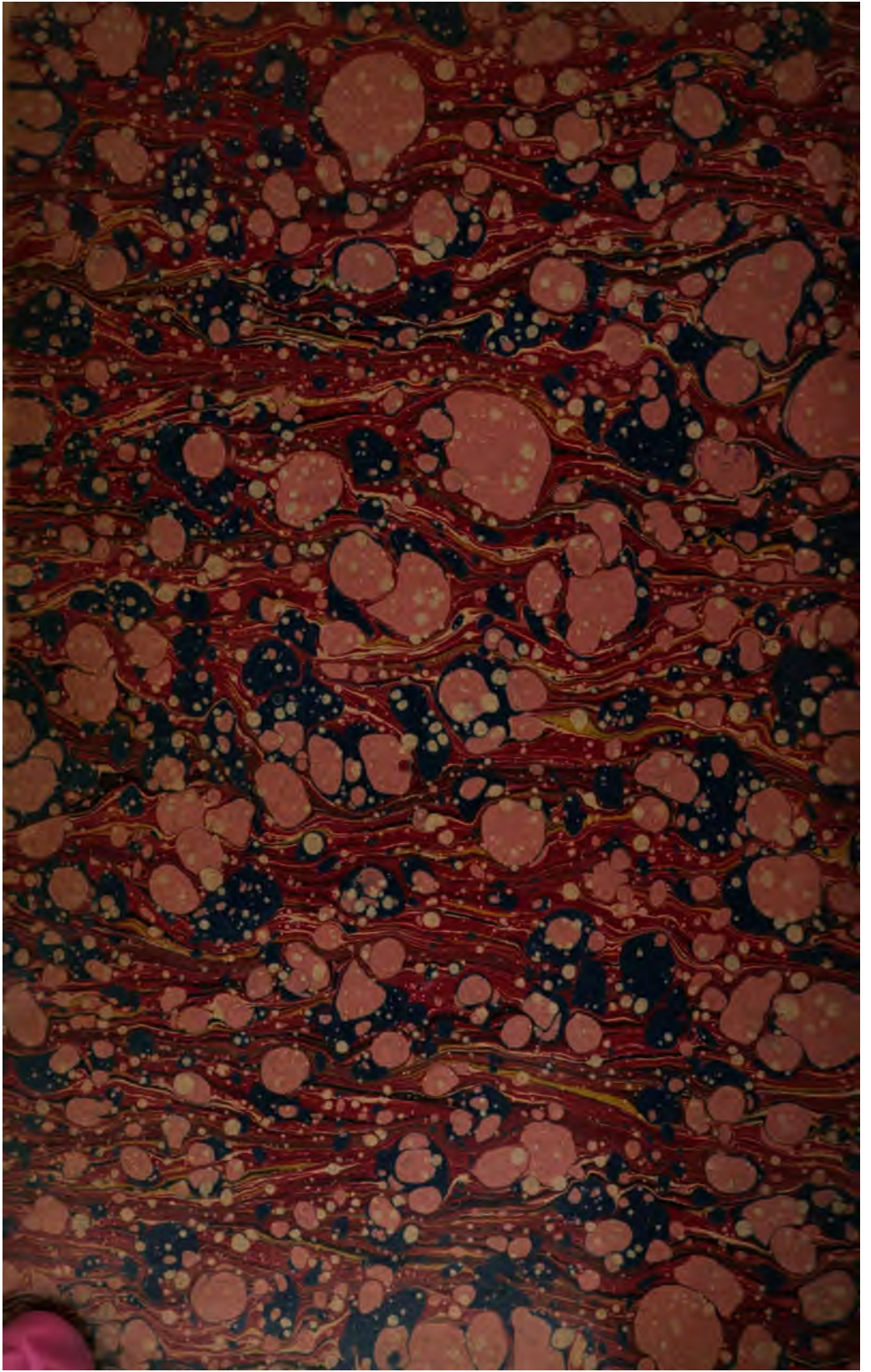
FOREIGN POSTAGE.

☞ The postage on each number of the National Quarterly Review to the principal countries of Europe is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 20 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 40 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 50 cents.

N. B.—The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount *without postage* being $5 a year, payable in advance.

☞ Postage having to be paid in advance to New York city subscribers, the city subscription is $5.25.

☞ **Those subscribing directly—not through Agents—would oblige the Editor by letting him know when any number to which they are entitled fails to reach them.**



NOV 11 1886
DEC 24 1886
JAN 3 1887
NOV 9 1888
MAR 18 1890
MAR 26 1890
MAY 8 1890
MAY 27 1890
NOV 17 1890
JAN 16 1891
APR 27 1891

Widener Library
3 2044 092 642 495